THE

ENGLISH REVIEW

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OCTOBER, 1929.

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THE ENGLISH REVIEW

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THE

ENGLISH REVIEW

OCTOBER, 1929

Current Comments

The Month's Events

SEPTEMBER has been a good month for the Government, which is not necessarily to say that it has been a good month for Europe. On the credit side of both accounts must be placed the Hague Settlement, which, being based on justice and backed by a remarkably forceful expression of national opinion on this side of the channel, has all the elements of permanence. That the financial settlement has carried with it the setting of a definite term to the occupation of the Rhineland by the Allies is also good, and our pacifists would do well to remember the conciliatory attitude adopted by France in this matter—an attitude to which inadequate recognition has been made in liberal circles in this country. For the rest, there has been a definite and regrettable tendency by interested parties all over the world to adopt in international affairs, in place of the policy of "stabilization," what is called an "evolutionary" policy. Let us look closer at the two policies.

Stabilization or Evolution

THE World War gave a shock to the national organization of Western civilization and to the Christian basis of Western culture from which many protestant thinkers, and still more non-Christian thinkers, prophesied that it would never recover. The collapse of Russia, the economic breakdown of Germany and Austria, the spread of anarchy over almost the whole of

the Middle and Far East—Japan alone remaining reasonably peaceful—the challenge to European rule in India, in Egypt, in Morocco and in Iraq—these grave events which occupied the attention of war-weary politicians for the first six years after the armistice suggested for a time that the prophets of despair were right. On every side the voice of the defeatist was heard. For the last few years, and until yesterday, that voice has been silent because, by the goodwill of men of all races and the perseverance and courage of governments, the framework of Europe has been after all preserved. The two dangers—on the one hand, anarchy and the retreat of Western culture before the advance of Slav and Oriental ideas and ideals; and on the other hand, the renewal of the fatal divisions within Europe herself through the breakdown of the Versailles treaties—have both been avoided. Even the problem of German reparations and German sovereignty within her admitted frontiers is, today, definitely liquidated. All this was the goal, and the achievement, of the policy of stabilization; of the policy, that is, of making it possible for societies to live together harmoniously within their present boundaries and without assuming new or renouncing old obligations.

The Menace of a "New World Order"

WHAT of the contrary policy—the policy of Evolution? Its jargon is familiar enough. We have all read much nonsense about the "new" man, still more about the "new" woman, and most of all about the "new world order." Its goal is as indeterminate as its phraseology. But it has certain definite hall-marks by which it can be noted. It is internationalist, democratic (by which I mean unrestrained in its respect for the forms of parliamentary government), hostile to Catholicism, hostile to conventional morality, infinitely servile to the power of money, deeply resentful of force in its more honourable manifestations, whether the force of established institutions, of traditional authority, or of the armies and navies of self-reliant nations. With many of the professed aims of the evolutionist all decent men are out of sympathy. With some of them, on the contrary, everyone

sympathizes. This is most true, perhaps, of what is their most ardent wish, the perpetuation of world peace. In the name of peace, usually, but also with the admitted object of establishing a "new world order," the evolutionists have certain definite proposals. They are opposed to national armaments, except subject to international control. They are opposed to the Versailles treaties, and most notably to the position under those treaties of the Catholic States of Poland, France, Italy. It must be noted in passing that their enthusiasm for the disarmament of these nations at the behest of the protestant and maritime powers does not extend to Russia or Turkey, whose contribution to European civilization is, perhaps, less striking. Finally, the evolutionist looks to a world in which the voice of all races and creeds will be impartially heard and obeyed. He conceives as his special mission the imposition of the parliamentary system on all races and openly makes this his test of "civilization."

The Ultimate Goal of the "Evolutionist"

WHAT the evolutionist imagines will be the ultimate development of his "new world order" it is hard to say. The Officials of the League of Nations see an international bureaucracy. The professional politicians see a super-parliament floating serenely on a sea of rhetoric, fanned by the favouring breeze of tens of millions of "enlightened" voters rushing to support the champions of progress against the opposition of the reactionary interests of property, Christian morality and old-fashioned nationalism. The Russians see in it the chance of creating a world-wide dictatorship of the proletariat, the Asiatic peoples the recapture of independence and the return of the rule of the sword—a boon which the infiltration of Western liberal ideas has already conferred on China. Finally, it is possible that the United States—more far-sighted—and the international financiers, see the final supremacy, in a world disarmed and disorganized for collective action, of the big business interests. For our part, it is unnecessary to look very far ahead. The task of today is to look closer—at the immediate future.

Versailles and its Lesson

LESS than 12 years ago the rulers of a world in arms met in Paris to readjust the boundaries of Europe, to define in new phraseology the relations of state with state, and to limit and supervise the assumption of new responsibilities by existing European states towards minorities and alien and subject races. The rulers who made the post-war settlements were one and all on a pinnacle of power. With vast armies and fleets at their call they faced a world disarmed and hungry for peace. If ever there was an opportunity for re-drawing the map of the world, it was then. Yet the result of their efforts was to wake jealousies, to unloose hatreds, to stimulate suppressed and impossible aspirations all over the civilized world. Only now, after many years of suffering, after innumerable wars and a period of international tension such as Europe had never known before, has a stable foundation of peace been re-established. But for the fact that all Europe and much of America and Asia was war-weary and poverty-stricken, even such unchallengeably just provisions of the Versailles Treaty as the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine and the re-construction of Poland would have been undone. What is the moral?

The Moral for Conservatives

THE moral is perhaps that human societies will never tolerate their interests being settled by the *a priori* logic of professional politicians. It is a matter of certainty, however, that the miscellaneous collection of societies which make up the world to-day, some Catholic, some Protestant; some secular, some mystical; varying in race, colour and temperament; at every stage of social and economic development; with every variety of aim and habit of life, can never be drilled into conformity with the ever-changing "-isms" of Anglo-Saxon progressive thought. Even Napoleon never had a dream so fantastic and so fatal. "Westernized" politicians bearing Islamic, Russian, Indian, Chinese, Latin and Anglo-Saxon labels may repeat identical formulæ. But the great races who correspond roughly but surely to these classifications cherish ideals and pursue methods all wholly different one from another. The relationship of these groups and of the innumerable smaller groupings

which lie between is determined by history. Over periods of centuries it has changed and will change again, but it will change in conformity with the rise or decay of racial and natural energies and virtues, not in accordance with the political ideals of one small section of the Anglo-Saxon world. Within the present framework peace can be preserved by men of goodwill, because the framework is rooted in history and corresponds to the realities of the case. Destroy that framework, as it was nearly destroyed by the European war, and not even the most ardent pacifist will save civilization from destruction.

Have we forgotten?

HAVE we forgotten already the starvation of millions, the mere murder of hundreds of thousands, during those astonishing years when open anarchy ruled from the very frontiers of post-war Germany to the Pacific? Have we forgotten the wave of unrest which spread over all the Eastern peoples, the wars on the North-West Frontier and in Afghanistan (where a million troops were engaged), in Iraq, in Persia, in Turkey and in Morocco, the anarchy in Egypt, the unrest in India? Have we forgotten the incursion of Russia into Poland, the alternating red and white terrors along the whole length of the Soviet Frontier, the revolutions and rumours of revolution which threatened all the succession States for the first year of the last decade? And what about the ruin of tens of thousands of families in Germany and Austria through the breakdown of the economic system of Central Europe? Yet what were these disastrous events but the inevitable outcome of a world, stirred in false hopes, trusting to paper guarantees, paper constitutions and paper currencies, temporarily divorced from the past, lost to self-discipline, removed from the discipline of historic forces, institutions and habits?

The Results of "Evolution" at Home

THE effects of "evolution" (it was then called reconstruction) in internal politics were the same. All over Europe and even much of the new world wages chased prices, and prices wages in the fantastic quest for a Utopia of easy money. Moral restraints were cast aside; every liaison produced a new art form and the riddle of the universe was solved in the daily press

with monotonous regularity. Every oriental superstition recurred and had its votaries. A new Messiah appeared in Chicago and a new sin in every capital in Europe. Gradually out of the welter of fantastic speculation two hard, as opposed to "new," truths emerged. The first was that, as men worked less, they grew poorer; the second was that, as men devoted more time to amusing themselves, they became less happy. The trouble came more slowly to this country than to the rest of Europe; it did not reach its climax till 1926 and the penalty is not yet paid, but for all that it would not have been till yesterday unduly optimistic to say that the worst was over. Today the legitimate applause earned by Mr. Snowden's policy at the Hague threatens us with a new attack on the foundations of our well-being, on the thrift, industry and good-will, that is, of the men and women of this country. To fight this attack is the task of the Conservative opposition. It is not going to be an easy one.

Palestine

THE troubles in Palestine are the first fruits, as Mr. Boothby truly says in his article on "The Task of the Opposition," in this number, of the new evolutionary policy. They have their origin not in anti-semitism but in the dismissal of Lord Lloyd, and in detail they afford a striking condemnation of a foolish trust in words and assurances to maintain order. We have pledged ourselves, for a reason better known in the city and Mayfair than in more aristocratic neighbourhoods, to maintain in Palestine, against the wishes of two-thirds of the inhabitants, a "national home" for the Jews. The Jews may be a nation, but they are a nation whose home is in the financial centres of the Christian world, not in Jerusalem. For all that, our word is pledged, and it was our duty and responsibility to protect the small band of Polish and Russian immigrants from the not unnatural hostility of the native Arabs of Palestine. It may be mentioned, in passing, that the idea underlying the conception of Judæa as the national home of the Jews of the dispersion is singular. Were it valid, we should have by parity of reasoning to invite the Italian Government to resume its jurisdiction over Great Britain, at least south of Hadrian's Wall. You cannot logically revert to the *status quo ante* A.D. 100 in Palestine without taking similar action elsewhere.

This is by the way, but interesting as a commentary on the equitable claim of Jews to be defended by British blood and British money in their national home. The fact remains that we have pledged our word to maintain them there, and that we have failed to do so. The commentaries on our failure have been threefold. The Government, wise after the event, have sent troops; the Jews have complained of the treachery of the Arabs, and Lord Rothermere and Mr. Beverly Nichols have urged the immediate evacuation of Palestine.

Lord Rothermere among the Evolutionists

LORD Rothermere, anxious to make a job of it, pleads simultaneously for the evacuation of Iraq. A retirement from Egypt, Palestine and Iraq simultaneously would, in his view, be a triumph of statesmanship. The Government has been caught on the horns of a dilemma. The policy of stabilization, which they have inherited, demands a display of determination. The building of a new world, which is their dream, demands as its strange and exotic foundation a policy of feverish surrender. The usual compromise has resulted. On the one hand, British battalions; on the other, an ominously parliamentary commission.

Egypt

THE situation in Egypt will soon present the Government with the same dilemma. It seems clear that the present Prime Minister, whose record as an able and forceful administrator gives him a place in Egyptian history, will be rejected by the electorate on whose mercies he has been thrown by Mr. MacDonald-Hyde. It remains to be seen whether Mr. MacDonald-Jekyll will present a firm front to the insinuating manœuvres which will be attempted by the new Egyptian Parliament. Always the problem remains the same. Stabilization or evolution?

Lord Rothermere's Answer

LORD Rothermere's answer is ominous of the trend of public opinion. Briefly, Lord Rothermere's argument is that we shall make more money by abandoning our responsibilities in the Middle East. Our only comment on this is that, if so, moneymaking must be an easy business. The precedent of the Roman Empire, which he glibly quotes, is an unfortunate one.

It is true that after a time Rome set her face against Eastern adventures, but it is not true that this marked the foundation of her power. Rather of her decline. The wealth of empires is not made by financiers. They are the spenders, not the creators. Empires flourish and decay according as they are prepared or disinclined to venture and to suffer. If a strict calculation of profit and loss were the basis of prosperity, the Jews and not the British would be the heirs of Rome. The difficulty is that it requires a little faith and even a little mysticism to appreciate this highly unscientific truth.

Disarmament

BUT it is not only in the Middle East that the Evolutionists are at work. An Anglo-American agreement on naval armaments is an excellent thing, provided we remain free to safeguard our legitimate interests and are left with the means of doing so. There are signs, however, that, if and when such an agreement is reached, an attempt will be made to enforce a reduction of naval and military armaments on the Latin powers. Such international meddling will do incalculable harm. We have everything to gain by a general reduction of the scale of armaments, but any reduction which has as its object the reversal by indirect means of the new status of the Latin powers in Europe will lead to disaster, without having the redeeming merit of being either politic or just.

Minorities and Mandates

SIMILARLY with the questions of minorities, subject races and mandates. We live in a world where great alien powers are seeking expansion. There is unrest and worse throughout the Slav and the Islamic peoples. That these peoples have a contribution to make to the well-being of the World at large is obvious, but it is the merest folly to assume that their view of well-being is at present the same as ours. If the existing compromise between Western and other ideals is disturbed, a world-wide conflagration will not be avoided. It may be true, though there is no shred of evidence to prove it, that a second Serajevo murder would not lead to a second European war because of the influence today of the League of Nations. It is certainly

not true, however, that any League or Pact is going to affect the nations east of the Ural Mountains, or the Arab or Egyptian nationalists. Still less is it true that, if we relinquish our spheres of Empire and influence, other European nations will allow their commercial interests in the relinquished areas to go by default. We are not the only imperial power, nor are we today the richest or the most energetic power.

The Future of Conservatism

It is interesting to compare Mr. Robert Boothby's view of Conservative policy, expressed in this number of The English Review, with the Duke of Northumberland's articles in the *Morning Post* a fortnight ago, and with Mr. Bernard Shaw's indictment of democracy in his new play, *The Apple Cart*. For our part we agree with much of what Mr. Boothby has written but he tells us only half the story. Democracy is indeed on its trial, but it is its immorality, not its inefficiency, that is the danger and the disgrace. There is little evidence that autocracies in themselves are more efficient than democracies, but they are more disinterested, and are thus able to lead instead of being forced to follow the mob. It is the lack of moral authority behind our political cliques that makes them powerless, for instance, to deal with scandals of capitalist mismanagement or Trade Union obstruction, with the pauperization of idlers or the lax inefficiency of the rich. It is not merely that one party derives its financial support from the Trade Unions and the other from big business, but that neither party is believed by the general body of voters to be in the least convinced, intellectually, about its own policy.

False Prophets

The *rentiers*, the professional men, and the salaried administrators who form the bulk of Labour-party leaders are not really Socialists. Hardly half of the Conservative party is really in favour of the unrestricted franchise or of the vast system of doles and subsidies for the wage-earning classes for which their party, and not the Labour Party, is responsible; and everyone knows this. How, then, can any politician ever hope to enjoy

sufficient prestige to " carry " the country on an unpopular policy? Yet unpopular policies have got to be adopted if we are to regain our prosperity. There are signs that the people will realize this before the politicians do. If so, Parliamentary government in this country may suffer an eclipse. In this matter we feel that the Duke of Northumberland sees further than Mr. Boothby, but we are tempted to a little of Mr. Boothby's optimism, nevertheless, by contemplating the plight of the Liberal Party today, and by remembering the overwhelming revulsion of the peoples of all classes and shades of opinion from the Coalition Government. Then, too, the people were far ahead of the politicians in foresight, integrity and common sense; but at last the men were found to lead the revolt. The first Party which tells the people the truth about their progressive impoverishment as the result of the so-called progressive policies of the last twelve years will, we are confident, get its reward precisely as the Fascists got theirs and, in that case, Parliamentary government will, after all, survive.

The Catholic Celebrations

ONE of the most remarkable happenings of last month was the imposing celebration of the centenary of Catholic Emancipation in Liverpool and London. At Liverpool, mass was celebrated before a congregation of 400,000, and in London a series of public processions and demonstrations brought together tens of thousands. The significance of these figures, in the light of the ceaseless challenge of modernism and so-called " science " is obvious. Side by side we have the growing strength of the " Catholic " movement within the establishment. The purely religious importance of both facts can be easily exaggerated. The decline in the attendance at church over the whole country continues, and if Catholic and Anglo-Catholic churches are crowded, it is only because they are few in number in proportion to the population. Intellectually and politically, however, the Catholic and Anglo-Catholic revival is of the real importance. Unless we are mistaken, it means the beginning of a serious revolt from that Victorian rationalism and

Marxian materialism which has dominated all political parties for too long. It has not escaped the observation of the younger generation that France, Italy, and Belgium have regained their prosperity before we have. The presence of a vigorous Catholic community in this country ensures that the Catholic philosophy will henceforward, after four centuries of eclipse, be duly represented in the Press and in public controversies, and it is this philosophy which will form one of the two rallying points for those dubious of, or disgusted with, the conventional political doctrines. The other rallying point, of course, will be revolutionary Communism. The battle between these forces is not yet joined, and may not be in our generation. But it will come.

The Cricket Season

THE end of the cricket season shows a definite "revaluation" of the counties which is all to the good of the game. For the present Yorkshire, Middlesex and Surrey are "out of the hunt," and Lancashire will not take a high place in another season without match-winning batting as well as bowling. It has been pathetic to watch the attempts of the diehards to pretend that the new rules have not helped to finish matches. We have had the finest summer possible and yet the percentage of drawn matches is far lower than usual. Fast scoring, the new rules, and the more natural wickets together have produced this result and fast scoring is the direct result of the new rules. The greater the risks of the man at the wicket, the greater the inducement to score quickly at the start of his innings.

The form of the "England" eleven has been less satisfactory, but must be largely discounted as being due to the effects of the Australian tour. It is interesting to know that, despite figures, the South African cricketers are unanimous in regarding Tate as in a class by himself as a bowler. For the rest, the doings of Mr. Gilligan's Australasian side will be watched with interest. Here is England's second eleven (with the addition of Frank Woolley), and here will be found the men to beat Australia next year, with the help of Hobbs, Hammond, and Tate.

THE unemployment figures show an increase of more than 50,000 since the Labour Government came into office. It would be partisan and unfair to pretend that here we have a sequence of cause and effect. Better and more honest to consider the remedy. The German central organization for rationalization—a body which enjoys Government support—has just published a report by a group of leading economists on unemployment which is directly relevant. In this report is recorded an investigation into the relation between wages, increased production, and unemployment which shows statistically that, as far as experience goes, higher (money) wages, even if accompanied by increased production, always reduce employment, while increased production unaccompanied by increased wages (*i.e.*, higher real wages) always reduces unemployment. This is, of course, what theoretical considerations suggest. Men can only get richer by producing more, and in modern society increased wealth takes the form of increased employment. A nation living beyond its means does not today experience a general fall in the rate of wages, but a total cessation of wages for a percentage of the community, the rest being taxed to maintain the unemployed. The German conclusion is that "rationalization" is therefore not one of many possible remedies for unemployment, but the only possible one. This is without doubt the truth. In our case, the rationalizing process must cover the whole imperial field. Here is a task not for Mr. Thomas the politician, but for Mr. Thomas the patriot.

Unemployment

THE month has seen a crisis in the City happily without parallel. It would be wrong to make any comment on the details of the case, but the shock to the investing public is severe and cannot be without its effect on business in general and on British credit all over the world. It is proper to express the hope that these wide aspects of the case will engage the attention of the Government. We are fortunate to have at the Board of Trade so able, fearless and disinterested a Minister as Mr. William Graham.

City Sensations

DOUGLAS JERROLD.

Notes from Paris

By George Adam

Clemenceau and Rhineland discussions.—Georges Clemenceau has celebrated his 88th birthday, and he is still very much in the fighting lists. He is finishing off his reply to Marshal Foch's criticisms of his Rhineland policy, and his former secretary, M. Georges Mandel, intends to call M. Briand to a strict account over the evacuation of the Rhine immediately the Chamber gives him a day.

Marshal Foch gave it as his soldier's opinion* that, so long as Germany were allowed to use the bridgeheads of the Rhine as a jumping-off place, and her left bank territory as a field of concentration, so long would world peace, and the security of France in particular, be unattainable. M. Clemenceau himself held this view at the beginning of the Versailles Treaty negotiations, and it was only under tremendous pressure that he yielded to Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George and accepted, instead of the permanent occupation of the bridgeheads and the creation of a Rhine buffer-State, an American undertaking, to be followed by a British engagement, to come to the support of France if she were attacked. He had, moreover, a prospect, if only faint, that the League of Nations might be able to add to French security.

Security for France?—As things have turned out, M. Clemenceau surrendered what Foch declared to be the minimum security for France in return for precisely nothing. America refused to ratify the Versailles Treaty and refused to join the League, which itself has so far failed entirely to provide Europe with any concrete guarantees of peace. Instead of a buffer-State, and permanently occupied bridgeheads having been obtained, the Rhineland is being evacuated before the time laid down by the Treaty in return apparently for the extremely flimsy security provided by the pious declarations of the Kellogg Peace Pact.

President Coolidge, when asked what attitude his Sunday preacher had adopted towards sin, which was the subject of his discourse, curtly replied that he was "against it." This story makes one realize that all that

* *See* "Security" by Marshal Foch, *English Review*, August and September, 1924.

Mr. Kellogg and M. Briand have accomplished so far has been to extract from the world a statement that it is "against war." That this is going to prevent it seems more than doubtful to a people whose soil has been as constantly invaded as that of France.

The Peace Profits.—M. Briand has gone off to Brittany in search of strength to resist the announced offensive on his Parliamentary position, and already M. Tardieu, the ambitious and able Minister of the Interior, has staked out his claim to the Premiership in a speech denouncing the "defeatists of peace." The Minister, it is true, sums up the peace profits of France in optimistic terms. She has regained her independence, broken the Triple Alliance, grouped around her Belgians, Czechs, Poles, Roumanians, Serbians and Greeks, obtained the demilitarization of the Rhine, increased her colonial Empire by 800,000 square kilometres, doubled her production of iron and steel and her merchant shipping tonnage, and enormously increased her industrial equipment.

Here is a French Minister at least who has the courage to admit that France is not shivering on the brink of bankruptcy, as her creditors are sometimes asked to believe. It is, nevertheless, a fact that France does not obtain all the benefits she might from her improved situation. And this, as M. Tardieu eloquently pointed out, is mainly due to the petty and timid spirit of political parties, to whom a majority in Parliament is, in itself, an end and not a means. M. Tardieu has ranged himself resolutely among the many men who have tried to let the north wind into the lobbies of Parliament to blow away the poisonous atmosphere of personal spite and group assassinations.

Xenophobia and the Theatre.—Some of Paris critical opinion is disturbed by the number of foreign plays (specially English and American) which appear on the programmes for the autumn season. The French are never slow to answer if appeal is made to their xenophobia; the very tourists, on whom so many thousands of livelihoods in France completely depend, can hardly read a French paper without finding themselves grumbled at and called "invaders," their clothes, their table-manners, and their accents ridiculed, and the suggestion made, openly or tacitly, that they could give nothing but pleasure to the French if they stayed out of France.

NOTES FROM PARIS

Paris theatre-managers are now being scolded for staging so many translations and adaptations from trans-frontier authors. In addition to a spectacle entirely in Yiddish there are *The Trial of Mary Dugan*, *The Ghost Train*, *Rose-Marie*, *The Spider*, and *Tip Toes* in French; and *Journey's End* in English. *By Candle Light* in English is just over, *Show Boat* in French also; we are promised *Journey's End* and Mr. O'Neill's *Hairy Ape* in French. M. Pierre Darius, who voices his discontent at this state of things, includes *Götterdämmerung* in his list; why he should single out this one item of *The Ring*, of which two whole cycles were given, it is difficult to say.

He makes the suggestion that this flood of imported plays should be checked by the imposition of a 10 per cent. tax on all foreign pieces played in Paris. It would probably have the effect he wishes, since most of the theatres are groaning loudly at their heavy taxation already, and could certainly not face a further toll. But, if this idea be adopted, there is one thing very certain; that M. Darius will be among the first to declaim his indignation if America or England should, in their Anglo-Saxon and anti-French insolence, presume to institute a corresponding tariff on imported French plays.

Meanwhile, nearer home there are a few details which might well be looked into by the official friends of the French stage. M. Henry d'Erlanger has produced under his own name a three-act piece called *Le Collier*, which those in a position to compare the two works declare to be Mr. O'Neill's *Anna Christie* in a transposed form. The identity of the two is so complete that it seems as though the omission of the original author's name from the programme is merely a sop to the xenophobes. The names of the characters have been made French, and the scene of action shifted from a coal-barge to a Canadian trapper's cabin. Mr. O'Neill is in Paris, and must be interested in seeing his play thus naturalized.

On the other hand, when Gémier produced Nozière's version of *The Taming of the Shrew*, three well-known Paris dramatic critics enquired why M. Nozière had thought fit to introduce an irrelevant prologue about a drunken tinker. One of them said it was very un-Shakespearian.

The Task of the Opposition

By Robert Boothby, M.P.

THE task that confronts the Unionist party today is formidable. It will call for the exercise in the highest degree of the qualities of judgment and patience. Fortunately these qualities combine to form the foundation of the political equipment of Mr. Stanley Baldwin. It is not, therefore, the leadership that gives cause for some immediate anxiety. It is rather the natural impatience which may manifest itself in the rank and file of a party chafing under the restrictions which wise leadership at this critical juncture must necessarily impose.

The main underlying objective of Unionism must be to keep the ship of State upon an even keel, and to secure that evolution proceeds with a minimum of friction and commotion, and, as far as possible, through the modification and adaptation of existing institutions.

We believe that in this way, and only in this way, can real progress be achieved.

Most changes which can properly be described as revolutionary, in the sense that they have fundamentally and permanently altered a system or deflected a particular course of human activity, have occurred almost imperceptibly, and frequently under the auspices of Governments of the Right.

Mr. Philip Kerr recently drew attention to the most interesting and the most startling contemporary example of such a revolution—the conduct of international affairs. Since the war there has grown up—practically unnoticed by the man in the street—a completely new method of transacting business between the nations of the world. Every year at Geneva the foreign secretaries of some fifty nations expound to an international Parliament the foreign policy of their Governments. And with each successive year the authority and prestige of this Parliament has grown.

In addition, the leading statesmen of Europe meet at frequent intervals for a frank exchange of views upon international problems.

Nothing like this has ever been known in the history of mankind prior to 1914.

The magnitude and scope of the revolution that has taken place is as yet wholly unrealized by the people. Probably it will not be realized until the next serious international crisis arises and is surmounted—without a world war.

The present Prime Minister, in his recent speech to the League Assembly, observed that statesmen the world over were engaged in a war upon poverty. There is no need to quarrel with this assertion. But experience proves that no substantial advances can be made in the battle against poverty except upon a firm foundation of social and political tranquillity.

Nothing is more certain than that upheavals and all spasmodic jolts and jars and the reactions which follow them impede progress and increase the sum of human misery.

To prevent the clash of opposing forces, and to maintain society upon a basis of stability, is therefore the first duty of the Unionist party, whether in office or opposition. "A disposition to preserve and an ability to improve, taken together, would be my standard of a statesman," said Burke. Stability in the modern world is clearly conditional upon the preservation and improvement of democracy as a system of government, and of the British Empire as a living political and economic entity. It is to this double-objective—fundamental and vital—that the Unionist party must now devote itself with heart and mind and soul. All other purposes, however valuable and important, are subsidiary.

There is, I think, a general disposition to minimise the gravity of the task, the nature of the difficulties.

Democracy, carrying with it the freedom of the individual citizen, is passing through the fire. There is great justification for the strictures of its many critics. As a system of government, it has too often failed to evolve an executive machine capable of handling the acute and complex economic problems, national and international, which have presented themselves with such dazzling rapidity in the post-war era. In Europe democratic governments have made a sad hash of things

during the last ten years, and the lamentably slow progress made towards a recovery of prosperity is, in large part, due to their antics. Many of them have been swept away in disgust and replaced by autocracies. The cost was not counted until too late, and in almost every case the price has yet to be paid.

No one now disputes the fact that a breakdown of democracy in Great Britain would involve the collapse of the Empire and of everything that seems worth while in politics today.

It is not beyond the political genius of the British people to reconcile a democratic system of government to the economic requirements of the modern world, and in this work—noble work—the Unionist party has a great part to play. For example, the wholesale repeal of the Trades Disputes Act of 1926 would, in the opinion of the present writer, constitute, in fact if not in intention, a serious assault upon the principle of democracy, and upon the freedom of the individual. As such, it would have to be most strenuously resisted in the House of Commons. It is one of the few legislative actions within the realm of practical politics which would justify the early and immediate overthrow of the present Government.

Far be it from me to suggest that the attitude of the official Opposition in regard to this question should be purely negative. One of the principal tasks of statesmanship in the immediate future is to secure for the Trade Unions the power and the status in the industrial sphere to which they are obviously entitled. But this can never be done by according to them political privileges at the expense of the rest of the community which are open to the gravest abuse.

Such a step, deliberately taken at this juncture, would in the light of past experience be not only dangerous but definitely retrograde. There is, however, reason to hope that the project will be abandoned in the face of the opposition it is bound to raise.

I say "hope," because I believe it to be eminently desirable that the Government should remain in office for at least two years, and that it is the business of the Unionist party to keep them there, and even to assist them, so long as none of the fundamental principles

which I am attempting to enumerate is jeopardized. The Socialist party has now become, for better or worse, a powerful political force in Great Britain. Every day they remain in office teaches them how much easier it is to promise than to perform, to talk than to govern. And the longer they retain control of the levers of administrative power, the more reconciled they will become to our existing institutions and to democracy itself. Hence increased stability throughout the body politic—the fundamental aim of Unionism. Hence the necessity for unwearying patience on the part of the Unionist party. Nor should the tactical advantages of such a policy be overlooked.

The people admired the way in which we accepted defeat at the election and the manner in which the late Government demitted office. They want to see the present administration given fair play.

If we give it fair play and a little more, it will be counted for righteousness unto us when the judgment of the people has once more to be sought.

So far as the Empire is concerned, it is the patent duty of the party of the Right critically to examine any proposals affecting its security.

Up to date the Government has on two occasions taken action which gives cause for uneasiness.

The resignation of Lord Lloyd may have been ultimately inevitable. The methods, however, adopted to get rid of him were not merely crude and unnecessary, but highly damaging to British prestige in the Near East, and it is noteworthy that his dismissal was swiftly followed by a serious Arab uprising in Palestine. The precipitate announcement by the Prime Minister at Geneva of Great Britain's intention to sign the Optional Clause was also unfortunate. With a little more consideration for the special position occupied by the Dominions, and a little more patience, general inter-Imperial agreement might have been achieved; and Mr. MacDonald would then have been in a position to announce the intentions of the Empire as a whole—a more satisfactory and a more significant procedure.

One other point. Any attempt on the part of Mr. Snowden to sabotage the whole system of Imperial

Preference will have to be vigorously combated. But if the Unionist party were to commit itself to a wild Imperial policy based upon tariffs, it would in that very hour commit itself to political impotence for a generation. There is a great deal of loose talk going on at the present time about "economic units" and so forth, which sounds impressive, but has little practical reality.

Britain remains the centre of a world-wide trade, and a policy which aimed at extending her Empire markets by banging the door against trade with other countries would not only be insanity from an economic point of view, but would certainly meet with defeat—complete, final, crushing—at the hands of the electorate.

Not the least of the services rendered by Mr. Baldwin to his party was his prompt refusal to identify himself in any way with the notorious "Empire Free Trade" stunt which was launched immediately after the election. There are better ways of developing and consolidating the Empire than by taxing food and raw materials—of which more anon.

In the meantime, the success of Lord d'Abernon's South American mission should give pause to those who seek to place artificial restrictions upon any substantial section of our overseas trade.

As regards Foreign Affairs, the Unionist party can be trusted to pursue the traditional line of policy (which notably contributed to the success of the Hague Conference)—that of patriotic support of the Government of the day.

The position in the field of domestic affairs is less simple.

Here the Government is not only confronted by the certainty of failure to implement its election pledges, but by the constant menace of a crisis in the coal trade.

"The Labour Party gives an unqualified pledge to deal immediately and practically with the question of Unemployment. When the Labour Government was in office, it announced to Parliament schemes of a comprehensive and far-reaching character . . . Immediately both parties united and defeated the Government. They could not tolerate its continued success." Thus the Labour Election Manifesto.

THE TASK OF THE OPPOSITION

What has happened since the election?

The unemployment position remains precisely where it was four months ago. Slight extensions have been made in certain schemes which were being operated by the late government. A modest Colonial Development Act has been passed which will doubtless bear fruit in years to come—just as the Palestine and East African Loans Acts will bear fruit.

The Local Authorities, faced under the terms of the Home Development Act with the necessity of increasing their rates or incurring more debt if they embark upon new projects, not unnaturally shrink from taking action. The proposal of the late government to transfer labour from the depressed areas has been dropped.

Some enquiries are being made about the railways.

Mr. J. H. Thomas has gone to Canada—and come back again. That is all. Where are the great schemes of national development we heard so much about at the election? Where, if it comes to that, are the "comprehensive and far-reaching" schemes of 1924? Vanished like the morning dew. And winter approaches. No. The Socialist leaders, in exploiting the plight of the unemployed for electioneering purposes, dug a political hole for themselves into which they have fallen, and from which not even Mr. Thomas's unrivalled capacity for bluffing can extricate them. So far as the unemployment problem is concerned, and their handling of it in the light of past events, they can count on some acid comment and criticism from the Opposition benches. And well they deserve it. On the industrial side the outlook is brighter than it has been for some time past. The heroic efforts of the President of the Board of Trade, Mr. William Graham, to hasten the progress of rationalization in our basic industries should receive whole-hearted encouragement and support from the Unionist party, which has for long maintained that the only permanent cure for unemployment is the restoration of a measure of prosperity to these industries. The coal situation remains obscure at the time of writing, but one important fact emerges. Under threat of legislation the coalowners are at long last doing what they ought to have done years ago—establishing district selling agencies and a central co-ordinating authority.

Mr. Graham's July ultimatum—dangerous as all such ultimatums must necessarily be—may therefore be said to have come off, and he deserves great credit for this initial success. How far can the Unionist party go with him in the treatment of the coal problem which he now proposes, and which has been outlined in the columns of the inspired Press? We can certainly support him in the attempt to reach a compromise on the subject of hours. Apparently it is not intended to force the owners to negotiate a national agreement. This will madden the Miners' Federation, but their hostility is infinitely better from the Government's point of view than the political disasters which must have attended any other course of action. Legislation is to be introduced this autumn to compel collieries to come into a district scheme which has the approval of a majority of the owners in the district. The recent breakdown of the Scottish scheme proved conclusively that such legislation is necessary if any district organization is to work, and there is therefore little doubt that this also will be supported by the Opposition.

For those who doubt its wisdom, there is an encouraging German precedent. But no useful purpose can be served by minimising the risks attendant upon legislation of this character, or the criticisms to which the Government may subsequently be exposed.

The successful organization of the coal trade along the lines now contemplated by Government and owners alike must involve (1) some initial reduction of output, (2) higher prices to the domestic consumer, in the earlier stages at any rate, and (3) a temporary increase in unemployment.

Will the ultimate advantages—an efficient industry on an economic basis, and a continuous development and extension of foreign markets—be sufficient to outweigh, in the public mind, the immediate disadvantages? It is to be hoped so. In the meantime, if the Government take one step further than they now propose, they will have embarked upon the slippery slope which can only end in nationalization, and down which the Unionist party can certainly not follow them.

Mr. Graham will doubtless be pressed to introduce

clauses in his Bill to control prices in the interests of the consumer. If he does it, he virtually accepts responsibility for the whole conduct of the coal industry on behalf of His Majesty's Government (he is already going perilously far in this direction). And after that there is no stopping.

It took the late Government two years of hard work to get the industry off the back of the taxpayer : a single mistake on the part of the present Opposition may easily suffice to secure its return to that deplorable position. For this is what most Socialists sincerely desire. All that is implied in the well-worn phrase " Nationalization of the Mines " is the turning of coalmining into a specially privileged industry, permanently battening on the rest of the community.

Sir Samuel Instone, in a recent letter to the *Times* accurately summarized the position thus: "Trade without crippling restrictions if you will. Control and restrictions if you must. But control and restrictions with adequate compensation." The Unionist party will certainly do its utmost to secure that, whatever mining legislation is considered necessary or desirable, the coal industry does not again become an annual budgetary charge.

The most encouraging feature of the present situation is to be found in the proposals for an international coal conference which have been set on foot at Geneva, again by Mr. Graham, whose administrative successes are becoming almost monotonous. Now that a body is to be called into existence, capable of negotiating on behalf of the British coal industry, a European agreement as regards output, prices, hours, and wages, is brought well within the realms of possibility. The most discouraging feature is the fact that the Miners' Federation remains under the leadership which plunged it into a series of disasters unparalleled in industrial history.

Whatever the future may hold in store, the Unionist party will be true to itself, and to its primary objective, if it accords every assistance that lies in its power to those who are genuinely working to prevent a further industrial upheaval, and to attain economic efficiency and real co-operation amongst those engaged in industry.

I have dealt cursorily with some of the more urgent

questions which are likely to confront the Opposition during the forthcoming winter. I have not touched upon many problems which, although of equal or even greater intrinsic importance, are not likely to come up in the immediate future, for instance, electoral reform, and the attitude of the Unionist party to the Liberals.

There is only one other aspect of the task which confronts the party to which I belong to which I would refer in conclusion.

Not the least of the duties imposed upon an opposition is the evolution of a policy and a programme to put into operation, if and when it is returned to power. Those who are responsible for framing our industrial policy will have to take care that a natural reaction against the economic idiocies of Socialism does not lead them into the barren by-paths of *laissez faire*—which never has been, and it is to be hoped never will be, the policy of the Tory party. It has to be remembered that we are today in the throes of a second industrial revolution at least as momentous and far-reaching as the first. Mr. Baldwin has referred to it in practically every speech he has made during the past five years, but, like all lasting revolutions, it is proceeding to a large extent unobserved by the ordinary citizen. It is difficult to discern the ultimate forms of industrial organization in the midst of the present chaos, but the trend of events becomes clearer every day, and about the future two things may be said with certainty. The first is that Socialism, as it is understood in this country, is not only out-of-date, but its application to productive industry would be a retrograde step, checking the forces of progress. Indeed, some of our more advanced Socialists have already recognized this fact. The second is that a new phase of capitalism is opening which will tend to become increasingly international in character, and in which Governments have a vital part to play.

It is obviously impossible, under modern conditions, for any Government to disinterest itself in the welfare of industry, or entirely to dissociate itself from its conduct.

The two countries which are industrially most developed in the world today are the U.S.A. and Germany. When the full story of Mr. Hoover's administration as

Secretary of Commerce comes to be told, it will be found that he was one of the principal architects of contemporary American prosperity. And in Germany the interests of Government and industry are linked at every stage. In this country we have undoubtedly lagged behind in industrial organization. It is, therefore, essential that the Unionist party should concentrate upon evolving an economic and industrial policy designed to enable Great Britain once more to rival and surpass her competitors overseas.

Having said this much about the economic problem, I am content to state the four political problems which seem to call most urgently for radical treatment.

(1) Our present system of education is inadequate for the requirements of a fully enfranchised democracy: common prudence dictates its improvement.

(2) Our slums are a disgrace to modern civilization.

(3) Our Empire is underdeveloped, and commercially unorganized: its industries ought to be "rationalized" on an Imperial basis, and this can be achieved without the imposition of a single tariff.

(4) The industrial status of our workers is far below their political status and considerably below their educational status; and until greater equilibrium is established between the three, discontent and uneasiness will persist.

If the task that confronts us is formidable, it is not so formidable that it cannot be accomplished. The Unionist party has a great part to play in the days that lie ahead, and I do not doubt that it will play it well.

It is impossible not to be optimistic about the future. The British people can never succumb. Even now they are preparing themselves for triumphs greater than even they have ever known. They are worthy of the best that lies in any political party.

The Reform of the House of Lords

By E. M. C. Denny, M.C.

OVER one hundred and thirty years ago, Mr. Pitt declared that the House of Lords "was that part of the Constitution which would first give way." A little later Mr. Burke was even more explicit—"It is done with," he said, "that part of the Constitution. They have been." Since that time these aphorisms of the two great Statesmen of the eighteenth century have been strangely belied by the passage of events. In the last century, five separate Reform Bills have spread wide the franchise among all classes and both sexes of the population. The electorate has mounted from half-a-million to twenty-eight million enfranchised persons. Workmen, urban and agricultural, a voteless class a century ago, now enjoy the suffrage and claim more than a third of the total membership of the House of Commons as directly representative of what, by a polite euphemism, is called "Labour."

More than half the electorate is composed of women. The woman's vote has "carried with it," as Gladstone foresaw, "the woman's seat in Parliament." But the House of Lords remains. It is, indeed, no longer a purely aristocratic body as in the days of Pitt and Burke, but in all other respects its character continues unchanged. It is still an hereditary and almost unrepresentative assembly.

This persistence of its hereditary character through a century and a half of social convulsion and political change is not so much an indication of any inherent vitality as an example of the tender regard in all ranks of English life for the titular distinctions of an hereditary order, a striking tribute to the Conservative strain in the National temperament. Threatened with the reforming attentions of successive administrations, both Liberal and Conservative, the House has yet survived and, like most threatened institutions, is likely to live long.

The one severe operation to which it has submitted through the Parliament Act has left it with the loss of

its legislative veto, and the removal of any claim to interfere in matters of finance. But even the constitutional demolitions of 1911 were by no means universally popular. In the preceding Elections of 1909 and 1910 the opponents and supporters of the House of Lords were pretty evenly divided at the polls, and though the preamble of the Parliament Act recited as its intention the substitution of a Second Chamber for the existing hereditary house on a "popular" instead of an "*hereditary*" basis, no more was actually attempted by the Government of the day than the statutory vindication of the right of the Commons to control finance and the ultimate legislative supremacy of the popular House. The policy behind the Parliament Act was in fact dictated by the urgent political necessity felt by the Asquith Administration of passing into Law its Irish Home Rule Bill. It looked to immediate results, but paid little regard to ultimate consequences. It did not foresee that a powerful weapon had been forged ready to the hand of future extremist governments bent on schemes of revolutionary confiscation. Yet the Labour Party had even then had a separate political existence for more than a decade, preaching a full-blooded Socialist gospel that left no room for doubt as to its ultimate predatory aims, if and when it ever drove the odious Capitalist from the seats of the mighty. Moreover, the framers of the Parliament Act fell into the fatal error of "partial definition" by attempting to limit the powers of the House with no reference to its Constitution, just as the authors of later "Reform" proposals seem to have aimed at changing the "composition" of the House with little reference to its "powers," though the two questions are connected and inseparable. Amendment of "powers," whether by limitation or extension, without reference to a change in "Composition" is an innovation as mischievous as a change of Composition without reference to an amendment of "powers." And "to innovate," as Burke said, "is not to reform." In both these "innovations" the result is the same, a serious loss of moral authority to the House and a consequent incapacity to function as a revising Chamber or as a check on hasty, ill-considered legislation.

The existence in the Upper House of a permanent majority of one party able to neutralize the efforts of a Government supported by another party in the House of Commons undoubtedly tended in the past to make, in practice, for " Single Chamber Government." Designed to remove this tendency as inconsistent with the smooth working of the Constitution, the Parliament Act has not only failed to extinguish, it has actually extended, the chances of its growth.

Lord Birkenhead shrewdly observed in the last Parliament, " The House of Lords served no useful function, unless it was capable of functioning in relation to what everyone knew must happen some day," *i.e.*, (the coming of a Labour Government). The expected has happened. A Labour Government is in office, almost in power in the House of Commons, but feebly represented in number and quality in the Upper House. Of 615 members in the popular Chamber, 288 or thereabouts support the Government of the day. In the House of Lords with a membership of 741 and a voting strength of 716, barely a score support the Government of the day.

The pitiful inadequacy of Ministerial strength was woefully apparent during the July debate on Lord Lloyd's resignation. Effective criticism of the Egyptian policy of the Government or the reasons causing the High Commissioner's resignation was impossible, because no Labour peer could speak with the authority of the Government or state what its real policy was. The episode furnished an object-lesson and a warning of the inherent unsuitability of the House of Lords as now composed to a democracy of 28 million electors based on universal adult suffrage.

Lord Darling's recent proposal that Ministers should have the right of audience in both Houses to explain important questions of Government policy connected with their departments does not meet the case. It takes no account of the growing burden of Ministerial Duty. Departmental business coupled with the task of answering for the Government in one house is labour heavy enough to occupy the energies of the most able and devoted Minister, without the extra strain duplication of the

latter function would impose upon these overburdened Ministerial Titans.

Such a course could scarcely make for efficiency. It would certainly not add to the dignity either of the visiting Minister or of the visited House. The fact is that, as Sir William Anson once stated, an assembly of feudal tenants-in-chief was never intended to fulfil the functions of a Second Chamber.

That a strong Second Chamber grows both more necessary and desirable with the advance of democracy is admitted by all Constitutional authorities. Its absence is as grave a constitutional reproach as its presence is a supreme constitutional need. It is, as Lord Oxford defined it in the House of Lords a few years ago (1925), "a useful and, indeed, an indispensable part of a really democratic Constitution, subject to the two conditions that a Second Chamber is properly empowered and properly composed with the three functions of "legislative initiative," "the power of free untrammelled independent criticism of the Executive of the Day" and "the freest and fullest powers of consultation and within reasonable limits of "delay." Few students of the subject will quarrel with this definition, but even assuming these as appropriate functions for a "reformed" Second Chamber to exercise, the question has to be determined what elements would combine most effectively to discharge them. If the House is to regain its authority in the legislature, it must at least embody the worth, experience, and talent of the whole people. It must find a sure foundation in a basis of popular authority and be able to respond fairly to the thoughts and sentiments of the Nation. That the preservation of its almost exclusively hereditary character would conduce to these ends the most ardent champions of inherited privilege would not contend.

Of all the countries that live under a Constitutional Government, Great Britain alone has an hereditary Second Chamber. Foreign models show every variety of constitution, with the exception that none of them is thus based on an hereditary principle. The downfall of continental Monarchies has so revolutionized their ancient forms of Government that analogies from new

Republican institutions do not afford much guidance for our own problems at home. Even in pre-war days, the great monarchal Countries of Europe never accepted an exclusively hereditary principle as appropriate to the composition of a Second Chamber.

The Austrian Upper House before the war included, besides the hereditary nobles, not less than 150 nor more than 170 life members nominated by the Emperor for "distinction in politics, art, or science." In Hungary the "House of Magnates" included an "elective" and also a "nominated" element, in addition to the members, who sat by hereditary or official right. In Prussia, the "Herrenhaus" consisted of territorial nobles, life peers, and also "representatives of the Universities and larger towns selected by the Senates or Town Councils." Even in Spain the grandees were curiously reinforced by members "partly appointed by various Chapters, Academies and Universities and partly elected by County Councils, town Councils" and "the highest taxpayers of a province." With our hereditary House of Lords we have always stood in an "isolation," "splendid," perhaps, but difficult to justify by democratic standards.

On the other hand, it seems to us, as the Bryce Conference insisted in its weighty report, that the prestige of a reconstituted Chamber would not be enhanced by a complete severance of connexion with the "Ancient House of Lords" . . . "the oldest and most venerable of all British Institutions, reaching beyond the Norman Conquest and beyond King Alfred into the shadowy regions of 'Teutonic' antiquity."

If continuity is to be maintained and the chain of constitutional development to remain unbroken, only the hereditary element can supply the connecting link between the Old and the New. Both the Coalition Resolutions of 1922, and the Cave proposals of 1927 recognized this as did also the Bryce Report, though there was naturally a marked divergence between the three schemes about the proportion the hereditary should bear to the other elements composing a "Reformed" House.

The Bryce Conference, for example, recommended

the election of a majority of its members by the members of the House of Commons, voting by Proportional Representation in 13 sections grouped according to territorial areas, limiting the hereditary element to 81 members to be selected by a joint Committee of the two Houses in the first instance from among peers only, but afterwards reducing the hereditary members by half, as the remainder of the selected members were then to be chosen from other persons. Members of the Second Chamber were to serve for a period of twelve years, one third to retire every four years. Certain *ex officio* members as the Law Lords and Ex-Lord Chancellors were also to be included.

The Coalition Resolutions of 1922 divided the Composition of the House apart from Peers of the Blood Royal, the Lords Spiritual, and the Law Lords into members elected directly or indirectly from the outside, hereditary peers elected by their own order and members nominated by the Crown, the number in each case to be determined by Statute reducing the total to approximately 350 Peers of Parliament.

Apart from the Peers of the Blood Royal and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, all the members were to hold their seats for a term of years to be fixed by Statute, but to be eligible for re-election. Lord Cave's proposals of 1927 would similarly have reduced the House of Lords to "not more than 350 members," Peers of the Blood Royal, Bishops and Law Lords to continue as at present. The remainder of the reconstituted House was to consist of Peers elected by the hereditary order and members nominated by the Crown, meaning by the "Crown" the Government of the Day. The object of thus adding a nominated element was to give the Labour Party or any other that might arise later a fairer chance of fuller representation in the Second Chamber.

Hereditary and non-hereditary members were to hold their seats for twelve years, one third of them retiring every fourth year, but to be eligible for re-election. It should be observed that all three schemes provided for the principle of partial election, but with a distinct difference.

Lord Cave's proposals preserved almost entirely the present hereditary character of the Chamber, merely reducing the members of the present house by one half. The Bryce Report and the Coalition plans both aimed at infusing a powerful non-hereditary element on an elective basis. The principle of a partial election is indeed no new idea. It was embodied in the resolutions both of the late Lord Rosebery and of Lord Lansdowne in 1910. It has been adopted in many Constitutions, notably in the Constitution of the Senates of France and Australia, though with varying degrees of success.

It has also the conspicuous advantage of freshening an existing assembly by periodical infusions of a new element more nearly in contact with recent developments of public opinion.

The form of hereditary election foreshadowed by Lord Cave's scheme suffers from a fatal defect, as it leaves the real objection to the present House, its hereditary character, almost untouched.

The whole question of election is admittedly difficult. Election is at the best an imperfect form of indirect representation and election by an elected electorate is more imperfect still. But it has the great merit, a truly British one, of providing a satisfactory compromise between an entirely non-representative Second Chamber and one directly elected by the people. It is a *via media* along which, it seems to the writer, House of Lords Reformers may move forward to their goal with a reasonable prospect of safety and success. *In medio tutissimus ibis.* Here, as in most other matters, the golden mean will be found to be the best because most suited to our national temperament.

The alternative, of direct election by the people, we may rule out of consideration, involving as it does the restoration of an unlimited veto to the Upper House and the claim to exercise powers co-equal with the lower one, with as its inevitable corollary a corresponding claim on the part of the Ministry to dissolve both Houses at once and appeal to the Country. Such a dissolution of the Upper House would bring it directly into the arena of party conflict and destroy its *raison d'être* as a revising and correcting assembly by reducing it to the

Constitutional absurdity of a Second Chamber, whose deliberations and decisions would do little more than echo those of the First. Granted the presence of hereditary members as a link with its past and elected members to unite the House with the needs of the present, neither of these component elements fully meet the constitutional necessity of a Chamber so remodelled as to become an effective guide of the popular will in times of national crisis and fundamental change.

Both these two categories may be expected to include many eminent persons of experience, talent and achievement, but not in number or variety sufficient to represent the manifold and increasing spheres of national activity. The Law Lords and Spiritual peers have seats as a matter of course to contribute their knowledge and experience to the discussion of legal and spiritual issues, though the Bishops can hardly be said to represent much more than a third of the active religious opinion of the Country. The addition of leaders of religious thought and action outside the Established Church would do much to remove a grievance widely felt by the adherents of powerful Nonconformist bodies, adding to the fund of knowledge on all important social and civil questions available generally to the Upper House.

But the life-time of any Parliament is chiefly occupied with other problems than purely religious or even legal questions.

Financial and industrial problems, municipal matters, Imperial and Dominion concerns, international relations become yearly more complex and more pressing.

The inclusion of qualified representatives with first-hand knowledge and experience of these and kindred spheres of policy and administration could not fail to add to the weight and authority of the proceedings of the Chamber. Distinguished public servants, ex-Cabinet Ministers, experienced administrators, captains of industry, Military, Naval, and Air Experts, Ex-Ambassadors and great Proconsuls, Colonial Governors and Labour Leaders would fall within this category. Furthermore, the inclusion of a distinctive element based on no other claim than that of achievement and experience would be more likely to bring an impartiality of judgment and

independence of outlook calculated to moderate the temper of party conflict than could be expected from elected Lords of Parliament, whether chosen by Peers or members of the House of Commons.

By a combination in reasonable proportion of the three elements based on election, heredity and public service, the House of Lords would be transformed into an authoritative assembly, preserving continuity with its historic past, rewarding achievement, responding to popular authority. No longer regarded as a stronghold of plutocratic privilege, it would command respect as a home of aristocratic merit, with the reproach removed that wealth was the golden key that unlocked its doors.

The problem of appropriate legislative functions becomes more easy of solution once the Upper House is adequately composed. No Government, however constituted, even if it made the attempt, would be permitted to add to the powers of a purely hereditary Chamber. The Parliament Act, as we have seen, put a limit on the Lords' legislative veto and declared that Bills of a financial nature belong to the House of Commons alone and ought only to be rejected or amended by that Chamber. Of these two provisions, the last is immeasurably the more important. For as the Bryce Report pertinently asks, "What is a purely financial Bill"? Behind that technicality may lurk a multitude of possibilities, social and political, commercial and industrial, more important and far-reaching than any direct financial effects. By means of measures purporting to be "financial," large and revolutionary changes could be carried by a political majority of the Commons representing in our present disproportionate electoral system little more than a third of the whole electorate.

Bills for a Capital Levy, wholesale schemes of Nationalization, the reduction almost to extinction of the Forces of the Crown, the subordination of the Bank of England to the Government of the Day could all become law without the Upper House being able to reject or amend them in the interest of the people either as tax-payers or citizens. A Second Chamber re-shaped into an authoritative body as proposed is the only proper safeguard for this purpose. Public confidence

would more readily concede it powers of amendment and review now denied to a non-representative House confined for the most part to the members of a wealthy class, drawn in the main from a single party.

Even then there remains the question of discriminating a purely financial Bill from others which, though to some extent financial, are more important in their non-financial effects.

The Parliament Act vests in the Speaker of the House of Commons authority to determine what is and is not a Money Bill, an arrangement which throws undesirable responsibilities on the holder of an office whose impartiality should be beyond dispute. Nor does the reference of quasi-financial measures to a Finance Committee of both Houses, as recommended in the Bryce Report and the proposals of the late Government, seem to provide a more effective solution. The questions to be considered would be largely legal in character, and any such Committee should contain a strong legal and judicial element, as otherwise it would be no more than a tribunal of rival politicians far less likely to be impartial in temper and outlook than the Speaker of the House of Commons. Perhaps a way out of the difficulty could be found by reference to a Committee, set up at the beginning of each Parliament with the Speaker as Chairman and composed partly of Law Lords and ex-Judges of the Second Chamber with an equal number of members of the Commons who should be persons of legal experience and financial knowledge. To such a Committee might be safely entrusted the duty of considering the character, substance and effect of any financial Bill, the nature of its clauses and of reporting, which, if any, of them are purely financial and within the province of the House of Commons alone, and which, if any, by reason of their probable social and economic results, might be open to examination, amendment, and rejection by the Second Chamber, " subject always to the ancient rule that no amendments could be made thereby, which could increase any charge upon the people."

One could not expect that in matters so delicate and difficult as the separation of the non-financial clauses from the financial parts of a Bill differences would not

arise between the House of Commons and a Second Chamber, even though "properly empowered and properly composed." The most baffling part of the whole problem is the creation of suitable machinery to guard against such crises, a point on which a convincing pronouncement has yet to be made. Here we have only space to mention some of the principal remedies attempted in other countries or proposed for our own.

Perhaps the most ingenious arrangement for settling a conflict between the two Houses is to refer a Bill or the amendments to a Bill which are the subject of disagreement to a joint sitting of both Houses either directly or in a form agreed upon by a Standing Conference Committee of Parliament.

This plan was inserted in the Commonwealth of Australia Act, 1900, and embodied in the Ordinance constituting the Transvaal and Orange River Government, with the qualification that it could only be applied after a dissolution of both Chambers. But it is doubtful if it could be worked here unless both Chambers were directly elected, and, as we have seen, the direct election of a Second Chamber bristles with insurmountable objections.

The Referendum has found favour with some, as a possible method of solving deadlocks by submitting matters in controversy between the two Houses to a popular vote of registered electors. This system has been operated in Switzerland, not as a method of appeal from either of the two Chambers, but to obtain a popular vote *ad hoc* and before any measure can become law. Its effect has simply been to prevent Party Government. Switzerland has a National Council formed from both parties with a President, whose members do not resign when the Referendum is against them, but simply change their Bills to comply with the popular vote taken. The Referendum was rejected—it seems so to us rightly—by the majority at the Bryce Conference as unsuitable to our conditions. The needs of the United Kingdom are very different from those of Switzerland, where it has checked the development of a governing assembly. A referendum in England, besides involving frequent General Elections, would take away the power of decision

from the people's representatives and altogether lower the authority and dignity of Parliament.

If we eliminate the two foregoing methods as impracticable, the Bryce Report plan of proceeding by Free Conference to settle differences between the two Houses may eventually have to be adopted. Amendments to a Bill made by one House and rejected by the other could thus be explored in a friendly spirit and an agreement reached either by compromise or some new plan more acceptable to both Houses than that contained in the discarded Bill or rejected amendments to it. The terms of the adjustment would be reported to both Houses and, if found mutually agreeable, would dispose of the controversy. If, on the other hand, one House remained obdurate, the Bill could go back for further consideration and, if again reported back to the two Houses and agreed to by both, it would pass. If they both disagreed, or if the House of Commons alone disagreed, it would lapse. If, however, the Commons alone agreed to the Bill as reported by a majority of the Free Conference of not less than three, it would receive the Royal Assent. By this method, it has been suggested, issues might be narrowed down in a calmer atmosphere and a better chance of closer co-operation between both Houses attained.

One further aspect of the whole subject should be mentioned. Statutory limitation of the Members of the Second Chamber implies, if it does not involve, the curtailment, if not the abolition, of the Royal prerogative to create new peers with the right to sit and vote as Lords of Parliament. This might not greatly matter, if satisfactory methods of adjusting differences to avoid deadlocks between the two Houses could be found. There can, however, be little doubt that, unless and until any such machinery is adopted and its efficiency proved by time and experience, the British people will be slow to divest the Crown of that historic prerogative which more than once in the past has been their safeguard from the perils of actual revolution and may well prove in the future their sure salvation in grave crises of national upheaval.

Indian Problems*

By Lord Sydenham of Combe

THE enquiries of the Royal Commission have doubtless revealed the following outstanding facts of the situation in India :—

1. Since the introduction of the Reforms of 1919, the loss of life due to disturbances of various kinds has been unprecedented. Including that arising from the Moplah rebellion, this loss must have exceeded 10,000.

2. The leaders of the Moslem community, with a few exceptions easily explained, have come to the conclusion that the effect of the Reforms has been to place them in a position of permanent political subjection to the Hindu majority, which they will never tolerate.

3. The Princes and Chiefs of India are alarmed at the prospects of the interests of their States falling under the control of a Parliament which is not representative of the people of British India, and in which they have no voice.

4. The political demand for Dominion status, which is, of course, the equivalent of complete independence, is mainly inspired by caste Hindus anxious to replace British authority by their own.

5. In the domestic sphere, there has been a marked increase of corruption in several forms, while assassinations and political dacoities have had a disturbing effect prejudicial to the interests and the progress of the masses.

6. The growth of the so-called "Communist" movement, inspired and subsidized from Moscow, but also promoted by agents of British origin, has reached serious dimensions. This movement has received support—open and concealed—from the Congress Party, which it would, if successful, destroy.

I maintain that these brief statements go to the root of the situation with which the Royal Commission is dealing, and I am convinced that they must have become clear to all Members in the course of their investigations. I feel confident also that the Commission will agree that they fairly describe conditions that are powerfully operating to prevent the building up of an Indian nation, which should be our first object. It is my personal opinion that this necessary building process has received a distinct set-back since I left India in 1913.

If these views are correct, an accurate diagnosis

* By the courtesy of Lord Sydenham of Combe we are enabled to publish this memorandum submitted by him to the Indian Statutory Commission.

of the causes of existing evils is of the first importance in order that effective remedies may be applied.

I therefore venture to submit my own conclusions for what they are worth, and I trace the evils in India—now patent and increasing—to two main causes:—

A. There has been a marked decay of authority which, in Eastern countries especially, is vital to the maintenance of law and order and to contentment. The reforms palpably weakened and discredited British authority, while putting nothing in its place. Except in well-governed Native States, adequate and recognized authority no longer exists in India.

British authority can be justified only so long as it maintains order and equal justice, while devoting its administrative measures to promoting the welfare and progress of the masses. These paramount duties are now imperfectly discharged. I may be wrong in believing that, for the present, no other authority can fulfil the necessary conditions, and continuously promote the growth of Indian nationhood; but whatever changes the Commission may propose, I earnestly hope that they will ensure undisputed authority, recognized and obeyed, which is essential to avert chaos.

Western communities have been trained to accept the authority of Parliamentary majorities, assumed to be representative of the will of the Nation, although they show increasing distrust of democracy. In the East, where democracy in any real sense cannot exist, this basis of authority is not accepted. In India, no real representation of the masses is as yet possible, and a pseudo-democratic Government can never count on general acquiescence. It would need a volume to explain the reasons of this lapse of authority in India. I can only point out that a Government, which the present Assembly has made a pastime of defeating, and which is not able even to pass a Bill that affected no Indian subject, has become necessarily discredited, and in some measure impotent.

B. In the provincial sphere, there has been a visible deterioration of the quality of the Legislative Councils as compared with those set up under the Morley-Minto Reforms. The urban intelligentsia, which now wields political power, has frequently shown antagonism to the interests of the rural population, which forms the vast majority of the people of India, and it tends to become a political caste deriving mainly from a narrow section in which lawyers are prominent. The Provincial Councils are, therefore, insufficiently provided with responsible Indians possessing a knowledge of public business and placing the progress of their countrymen in the forefront of their political objects. Councils so constituted have, in some cases, reduced the police forces below the margin of safety, leading to preventible loss of life.

The tendency of the Government to show special favour to opponents has discouraged the best elements in India, and strengthened the political clique which seeks to destroy British authority and to eliminate British officials.

The Indianisation of the public services has proceeded too fast and with too little regard for the qualities which are essential to good administration. India does not lack men capable of becoming valuable public servants; but present methods of recruitment do not ensure their appointment, and wherever acute religious tension prevails, the best Indian official must often find his actions liable to unmerited suspicion.

The same considerations apply in the military service. There is fine Indian material, which can be obtained only by rigorous selection, and even so it may be unable to exercise leadership where strong racial or religious differences exist between the officer and the rank and file. The exploits of the Bengali regiment during the war are known to the Commission.

For the reasons I have briefly stated, there has been a certain disintegration in the public services which I regard with dismay, because these services are the mainstay of the welfare and progress of India. The British element in the Civil Service has been too rapidly reduced and discouraged. The important medical, education and engineering services tend to wither. For many years it will be necessary to provide technical experts from England which India cannot yet supply, and, in present circumstances, it is becoming most difficult to fill certain key positions. India will inevitably suffer if this disability is not removed.

Conclusion.

As regards the changes now imperatively required, I venture only to submit to the Commissioners some crucial principles which I believe their enquiries will support.

Parliament cannot divest itself of responsibility for the security and well-being of 320,000,000 people in India without gross betrayal of a sacred trust. For many years there can be no authority to which we can transfer that trust. It follows, that ultimate power must remain in our hands till an Indian nation arises in future.

I consider, therefore, that the present Assembly, which is a danger to the peace of India, should be abolished or reconstructed. The method by which electorates and representation generally were somewhat hurriedly arranged was most unsatisfactory. It is possible

to obtain a body which could claim to represent the main interests of the Indian communities, though not in the strict Western democratic sense. In such a body, agricultural interests—the interests of the vast majority of Indians—would be adequately safeguarded.

I see no reason why the Native States should not be liberally represented in the Council of State as at present constituted.

Following the lines of the American Constitution, which was devised to provide a strong executive, I would give no seats in either House to Executive Councillors, but permit them to speak when necessary in both Houses, the Governor-General, as now, being able to address either or both at his pleasure. No measure opposed by the Executive should pass either House without a 3 to 2 or a 4 to 3 majority. The veto of the Governor-General would then be rarely or never required, and the unseemly lobbying which is now rampant would be checked.

In the Provinces there should be unitary Executives, half British and half Indian, the Governor having a casting vote. I am opposed to giving second Chambers, which would only add to the expense of Government, already largely increased by the Montagu Reforms. The structure of the existing Legislative Councils should be revised on the principles I have roughly indicated in order to give proper weight to the dominant industry of India. I consider that communal representation must be retained, and that the depressed classes should be represented by nominations from their ranks where this is possible.

Subject to these provisions, I would give a free hand to the Provincial Legislatures; but, as Provinces vary greatly, I would, in some cases, reserve subjects to the Executive for final decision, leaving them to be freely debated. In all cases I think that the responsibility for law and order, including the control of the police, should, for the present, be so reserved and regarded as the special care of the Governors.

The principles which I have attempted to advocate are all based upon one main consideration which, to me, appears paramount. The great masses of the Indian peoples, for whose welfare we are responsible, have not

been benefited by the Reforms of 1919. On the contrary, evils, such as corruption and the increase of disorder, which directly affect these masses, have increased and are increasing. They have a right to lay these evils to our door, and our authority over them as their protectors has been weakened by measures which were claimed to be taken for their "highest good."

Indian politicians have organized themselves, not in order to work for the real interest of their countrymen, but to obtain power for themselves, thus depriving us of the co-operation which is essential to the advancement of India. They now control the Indian Press and the Bar Associations, and they command wide publicity to which there is no effective rejoinder. They are thus able to exercise intimidation to a formidable extent, and it must have been exceedingly difficult for the Commission to obtain Indian evidence conflicting with the views of these powerful political organizations. Many Indians who hold independent opinions will give them freely only when they are alone.

I have not referred to the defence of India, on which I hold strong views, because the Commission will realize that, while the security of India depends—as it must for a long period—upon a Navy and Armies controlled by us, the weakening of British authority would be perilous. To divorce the external and internal security of a State from its domestic government is manifestly impossible.

As the situation now stands, there is real danger that India may lapse into the political anarchy which has prevailed in China since the setting up of the farcical Republic. The efforts of the organized anti-British parties, in spite of their factions and want of agreement, are combining with the machinations of the Communists to bring this about, although the aims of the latter involve the destruction of the former. Whatever measures—short of the derisory and discredited scheme of Pandit Motilal Nehru—the Commission recommends, it is certain that the present political agitation will not be appeased, while the Communist intrigues will be assisted by any further weakening of the administration.

I earnestly hope, therefore, that the Commission, disregarding the outcry of the little politically minded

minority, will take into consideration only the well-being of 320,000,000 Indian peoples, whose vital interests are already suffering. The strengthening of the Central Government which, I urge, would rally a large body of the shrewdest and most responsible Indians, whom our growing weakness has alienated, to any plan directed solely to the good of the masses. No Oriental trusts or respects a Government which seeks to placate its open and irreconcilable enemies. It is not yet too late to retrace some of the steps taken in 1918–19, which have falsified all the claims then advanced; but there is no time to lose.

Postscript.

In submitting this Note to the Statutory Commission, I was well aware that my views may be regarded as out of date. While in India, however, I carefully studied her political problems and the needs of the masses. Ever since, I have striven to keep abreast of events, and I have continuously received information and reasoned opinions from Indians. Changes have naturally occurred in sixteen years; but I maintain that some principles of Government, in the East as in the West, are unchangeable. It was, therefore, my hope to emphasise two points to which I attach supreme importance: (1) The restoration of the authority of the Central Government, which Lord Curzon, in 1919, declared ought not to be weakened; (2) The vital necessity for putting the welfare and progress of the masses in the forefront of any reforms that may be proposed, excluding purely political considerations. I believe that there are many, who, knowing and loving India as I do, will endorse the principles for which I contend.

Sydenham of Combe.

The Greek Republic

By Arthur E. E. Reade.

THE vituperative attack of Mr. Cosmetatos on the Greek Republic in the August number of the English Review is a return to the unhappiest tradition of Balkan political polemics. It is not for an English friend of Greece to join issue in the controversy between the Royalists and the Venizelists. In deploring the excesses of both parties in a feud which has retarded the social progress of the country for more than a decade, we have also to recognise that a share of the blame attaches to the Near Eastern policy pursued by British Cabinets both during and since the war. But the partisan statements of Mr. Cosmetatos are calculated to mislead uninformed English opinion and do totally unjustifiable damage to the reputation of our best friend in the Mediterranean.

Schoolboy students of Plato will learn with astonishment that "the word 'Republic' had never even been whispered in Greece before 1924." In establishing a Republic (*Demokratia*) the Greeks have returned to an ideal which, however far it falls short of its promise in practice, is at least as well suited to their condition to-day as the Royalist tradition in which Mr. Cosmetatos sees "the dominant inspiration of modern Greece ever since the Battle of Navarino." This quotation illustrates a point of view which hardly fits in with the rôle played by such as Capo d'Istria in the establishment of Greek independence. After the expulsion of the Turks, however, the reborn nation found itself the happy hunting ground of rival factions: it was distrust of themselves that made it necessary for the Greeks to accept a foreign dynasty.

The greatest boon that can be desired for the future of the Greek state is the emergence of a type of leader whose party is almost forgotten in the general recognition accorded to his public service—the type of man chosen in England to preside over Royal Commissions. Such

a man is M. Zaïmes, who, after the restoration of the parliamentary regime in 1926, became Premier (for the sixth time) as head of the Oecumenical Government—a coalition of the two Royalist and three Venizelist parties, which Mr. Cosmetatos graciously considers " the least noxious of the semi-military cabinets ". Such a man also is Admiral Coundouriotis, who, after a life-time in the service of his King, has occupied the position of Chief Magistrate, successively as Regent (in 1920 and 1923), as " Provisional Governor " and, since 1924, as President.

The sneering imputations of Mr. Cosmetatos on the constitutional propriety of Admiral Coundouriotis are rendered peculiarly unseemly, remembering the dignity and courage with which, in 1926, he withdrew from his high office rather than continue to accord its sanction to the military dictatorship of General Pangalos.

Anyone reading the article on " Autocratic Democracy in Greece " would assume that military rule and Greek republicanism go hand in hand. In fact, if any good came out of the dictatorship of General Pangalos, it was that his indiscriminate persecution of both Royalist and Venizelist politicians brought about the temporary unity of all parties for the purpose of restoring the parliamentary regime. The only occasion that anything was fought out " with cannon in the streets " was on September 9, 1926, a few weeks after the overthrow of General Pangalos, when a revolt led by Guards' officers against the new Government was put down and " stratocracy " finally suppressed. The first " free " elections for many years followed. While the irreconcilable Royalists under M. Tzaldares were returned as the largest single Party, the Left block of the three Venizelist Parties secured a narrow majority over the combined Royalists. These results were far too inconclusive to have been faked. It was only after two years' experience of an unsatisfactory coalition (which gradually dwindled as the extreme Right and extreme Left withdrew) that the Venizelists were able to secure their present sweeping majority—the moderate Royalists under General Metaxas no longer held forth any practical hope of a return of the ex-King (who indeed lost his chance when he rejected

the leadership of a movement against the Pangalos dictatorship).

"The 'red' demagogue, Papanastassiou," is a gentleman whose politics correspond approximately to those of Mr. Lloyd George. If it is true that more than half the refugees, who are the mainstay of the Radicals, are illiterate, the same is equally true of the peasants who are the mainstay of the Royalists. While a small minority of the refugees do not, or did not when they first arrived seven years ago, speak Greek, others, though quite uneducated, disconcert the native Greeks by speaking a dialect which in its purity is almost classical.

For the presence of that refugee population of a million and a half Greece has to thank the Allies who, having put the Greeks in Asia Minor, left them to fend for themselves when they exercised their right to recall King Constantine. Admittedly M. Venizelos made the mistake of his career in acting as the instrument of the allies, for, as a Laconian peasant said to me in a striking phrase, "Μᾶς ἔδωσε ὄρεξι"—"he gave us an appetite"—for an Empire which could not be held. Yet that is an appetite to which Mr. Cosmetatos, with his reference to "the long and glorious epic of Byzantine history," is apparently not adverse. All that is worst in the character of the Greek, both as an individual and as a citizen, can be traced to the prolonged and bloody decay of the Empire in the East, with its superstitions and its tradition of bureaucratic imperialism (which the sword of Osman, in fact, merely maintained for four more centuries with the assistance of Greek administrators).

It is an undoubted truth that Greece was—at any rate after the abdication of the worthy but misguided Bavarian Otho—nobly served by its kings. The occasional arbitrariness of King George I was more displeasing to the professional politicians of Athens than to the mass of his subjects, who fully appreciated his Edwardian bonhomie that went with a deep sense of public duty, while his great military abilities largely contributed to the success of a lengthy reign. The second of the Danish dynasty did not inherit all his father's mature wisdom

and evenness of temper. But as a leader of men, King Constantine was unsurpassed, and Greece may owe nearly as much of her victory in the Balkan war to the brilliance of his strategy before Jannina as to the genius of the diplomacy of M. Venizelos. Moreover, King Constantine was a gentleman—a rarity in the Levant, and he loved Hellas with a love that was almost physical, passing the love of women. The Greek Royalists naturally cherish his memory with a devotion that is the greater by reason of the slanders poured upon his exceptionally straightforward character by France and England to justify our violation of Greek neutrality during the war—an act that would have been unnecessary had we not, to our own great loss, rejected the Greek offer to force the Dardanelles, in 1914, in a futile attempt to preserve Constantinople for Russia and to keep Bulgaria out of the war.

But this is a story belonging to the past, a past that need not have been if a century ago the Greek state had taken shape as a confederation on Swiss lines—for extreme administrative devolution is the most effective way of utilising local patriotism as a check on corrupt bureaucracy at the centre.

The centralisation of the supreme executive power in a cabinet of ten "archons," the effective leader of whom need not hold formal rank as President, would be as admirably adapted to the individualism of the Greek character to-day as it was in Periclean times. Indeed, the system survived in a certain form in the local government of Athens down to the War of Independence.

The eloquence of the Greek in political polemic is all a part of the great libertarian tradition of Hellenic culture. Yet Greece is ill-served by citizens (as, I presume, M. Cosmetatos is) who, for the sake of an attack on their own government in the Press of a friendly foreign nation, mudrake the past, misdescribing the (very proper) recall of the British Minister from Athens in 1922 as a breach of diplomatic relations, or antedating by fifteen years the real cession of Crete in order to claim exclusively for the monarchy the credit of an event which was, of course, the first great triumph of

Venizelos. Let it, however, be agreed that the Scandinavian Prince, on receiving from his Cretan Prime Minister the gift of the island to his Crown, might well have said: *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.*

Editor's Note.

THE trite saying that there is more than one side to every question is commonly an excuse for inability to choose, or unwillingness to take, the right side. Since the war especially, ideas of political right and wrong have become so blurred and memories so short that British Cabinet ministers, not content with surrender to criminal intimidation, can invite murderers to tea and cigars in Downing Street! As these same politicians are still claiming credit for their "statesmanship" in making the iniquitous Irish Treaty with fairly general acquiescence in the Press, it is perhaps too much to expect that before paying almost universal homage to the "veteran statesman" and "patriot," M. Venizelos, the Press should pause to consider the methods by which he has reached power. A brief record of the facts was published in the August number of THE ENGLISH REVIEW in the article "Autocratic Democracy in Greece," by M. Cosmetatos. These facts are undeniable, and wherever conscience has not been stifled by opportunism, consideration of them must surely change adulation to execration. I need hardly say that unless I had been satisfied of M. Cosmetatos' *bona fides*, of his knowledge of the subject and the general accuracy of his statements, I should not have published his article. Being, however, fully satisfied on all these points, I preferred that he should tell the blunt truth in plain language. Most of the facts are historical and beyond dispute. The crime of 1922 was so foul that even a Coalition British Government broke off diplomatic relations. From enquiries I have been able to make on the spot myself I can corroborate M. Cosmetatos' statements as to the fraudulent conduct of the elections by the Venizelist usurpers.

It is the rule, as far as possible, to publish any reasonable and not too long reply to an article in the REVIEW which has definitely taken a side. The foregoing reply by Mr. Reade might, however, fairly have been excluded on the ground that, though complaining bitterly of M. Cosmetatos' statements, he fails to disprove them. Its interest, therefore, lies in the fact that it is probably as good an effort as Venizelism can command to rebut a crushing indictment. As such I have submitted it, together with the original article, to an authority whose intimate knowledge of events in Greece in recent years, and ability to judge them from a detached European point of view, is unsurpassed. Extracts from his letter and notes are appended.—E.R.

* * * * *

"I can say from my own knowledge, and without any bias, that M. Cosmetatos' article is a very accurate statement of the facts.

"I suppose you know that the Anglo-Hellenic League was formed by Madame Venizelos, and was responsible for the most infamous attacks upon, and intrigues against, the Greek Royal Family. Mr. Reade's praise of King Constantine is a confidence trick to deceive public opinion. It is mere hypocrisy to refer in the same breath in such glowing terms to King Constantine, and yet support his moral assassin, M. Venizelos, the man who is not only responsible for the murder of the King's ministers, but is now governing the country with the support of those very assassins on whom he is bestowing favours.

"Mr. Reade does not disprove any of M. Cosmetatos' statements, but merely tries to discredit him by accusing him of being a royalist.

"It is absolutely true that there is no republican sentiment in Greece, and that the Republican form of Government was instituted and is maintained by force of arms by a band of assassins who realise that it is the only means by which they can avoid the gallows.

"It is ridiculous to assert that the elections which gave M. Venizelos his present majority were fairly

conducted. One cannot even say that he changed the electoral system; he simply faked everything. Small constituencies in which Venizelists were known to be in the majority were divided up so as to form a larger number of constituencies, and large constituencies where the monarchists were in the majority were joined up so as to decrease their number.

"But even this was not sufficient, and the results of the elections were also faked.

"Mr. Reade says, 'Admittedly M. Venizelos made the mistake of his career in acting as the instrument of the allies.' He explains why, but his explanation is absurd. If he had been working to create an Empire, he could not be referred to as an instrument of the allies. He was purely and simply a traitor, working on the pay of foreigners against his King and Country. Admiral Coundouriotis followed M. Venizelos to Salonica, and was also either a traitor or an idiot. I think he is both.

"If you feel that you ought to give Mr. Reade a chance of replying to M. Cosmetatos, I would suggest that it be pointed out that his article is no refutation of Cosmetatos. It would be very interesting if Mr. Reade would try to disprove his statements.

"In conclusion, I must point out that the results of the municipal elections a short time ago prove conclusively that M. Cosmetatos' statements are correct in as far as they show that the Greek people are dissatisfied with the present rulers. Surely that is enough. Mr. Reade's reference to Periclean times as an argument in support of his thesis is puerile.

"I enclose herewith comments on Mr. Reade's article."

* * * * *

It must be remarked that the "Anglo-Hellenic League," of which Mr. Reade says he is a member, was founded by Madame Venizelos during the war. It was this League which spread the most abominable calumnies against the Royal Family of Greece. Mr. Reade, in his article, himself protests against them.

At the present time the "Anglo-Hellenic League"

is inspired by the Greek Legation in London. The reticences, the strange errors, the violent expressions, less than courteous, employed by Mr. Reade against M. Cosmetatos are so unusual in an English writer as to suggest that Mr. Reade has merely translated from a venomous Venizelist polemic.

Here are the facts which Mr. Reade ignores :—

(1) M. Cosmetatos' article enumerates a series of odious acts, now historic and undeniable, which preceded and brought about the foundation of the Republic in Greece. Mr. Reade has not a word to say about them. He maintains a strange silence in regard to the abominable crime of execution of the five anti-Venizelist Ministers and of the Greek Generalissimo in 1922. He says nothing about the incriminating telegram from Politis to Venizelos, disclosed by *L'Homme Libre*, or the apology for the crime which was subsequently made by Venizelos in the International Press.

Mr. Reade does not mention the Generals Plastiras and Gonatos, who carried out this horrible crime, and whom M. Venizelos never ceases to load with honours. He has just made the latter a Minister of State.

We all know that the Republic of Greece was born of the anxiety to ensure impunity for the Generals implicated in the atrocities of 1922. Is it for this reason that Mr. Reade is careful to avoid seeking the determining causes of the sudden institution of a republican regime in Greece?

Mr. Reade says nothing of the massacre by the military of Royalist women and children on December 9, 1922.

He says not a word about the scandalous electoral system instituted by the Venizelo-Militarists at the elections of December, 1923, which compelled the abstention of Royalist candidates. The militarists profited by this one-sided parliament to proclaim the republic.

Mr. Reade is, further, silent as to the disgraceful scandal of the pseudo-plebiscite of April, 1924, the result of which Papanastassiou, President of the Council, proclaimed before the ballot boxes were closed. Silent also as to Papanastassiou having forbidden the courts to investigate the complaints against the illegalities and

abuses perpetrated during the plebiscite. In the light of all these facts, Mr. Reade does a grave injury to Mr. Lloyd George in comparing him with Papanastassiou.

(2) Fundamental errors of Mr. Reade in the points on which he replies to M. Cosmetatos.

When M. Cosmetatos says: "The word Republic had never been whispered in Greece before 1924," he obviously means in modern times, since 1453, or, if you like, since the Battle of Navarino. He would not be thinking of the ancient age of Pericles or Plato, B.C. Mr. Reade is merely playing with words.

If Mr. Reade had more closely studied modern Greek history, he would know that the "Royalist tradition" had contributed as much as the orthodox religion to sustain the Greek national spirit under the long and cruel Turkish yoke (1453 to 1821).

Admiral Coundouriotis (praised by Mr. Reade) comes from a noble family, but is personally a nonentity. He became the implacable enemy of his King over an affair of a decoration! For this reason he joined M. Venizelos against King Constantine—one may judge of the regard for the constitution of Coundouriotis and the consistency of his political principles by the fact that he accepted in turn the rôle of Viceroy and "President of the Republic." In 1926, it is true, fear of General Pangalos led him to resign. But soon after, at the invitation of another dictator, General Condylis, he resumed his post and accepted the title of "President of the Republic" from the hands of this other dictator.

In 1928 the Generals called M. Venizelos to Athens—then a private citizen retired "for ever" from politics. The President of the Council, Cafandaris, threatened by the military, resigned. Coundouriotis entrusted power to M. Venizelos, but, in flagrant violation of the constitution, without demanding a vote of confidence. Then in accord with M. Venizelos he decreed the dissolution of the Chamber, which, being a constitutional assembly, could not be dissolved according to the Constitution except by its own vote.

Finally, and again by simple decree, Coundouriotis and M. Venizelos instituted, in further violation of the Constitution, a fraudulent electoral system in order to

cook a "sweeping majority." Coundouriotis has thus been guilty of three flagrant violations of the Constitution in favour of M. Venizelos.

This history of the recent access to power of M. Venizelos is ignored by Mr. Reade *entirely*. It is thus correct to state that in Greece "military rule and republicanism go hand in hand."

What Mr. Reade says on the subject of King George is a pure invention: no such offer was ever made, no such question was ever put.

If the Greek refugees read his article, they will be greatly surprised to learn that they are "Radicals"—this term is unknown in Greece. With the exception of the Communists there have never been parties of doctrine in Greece. Now the Greeks are divided into Venizelists and anti-Venizelists. It is only by courtesy that the Venizelists are called Republicans. M. Venizelos himself is neither republican nor royalist; he is simply Venizelist!

In conclusion, Mr. Reade presumes to reproach M. Cosmetatos with serving his country badly by attacking its government in the foreign press. It is rather to M. Venizelos that Mr. Reade should address his reproach, for it was M. Venizelos who during the war displayed a veritable genius in perpetrating one of the greatest lies in history—a lie which still tarnishes the National honour of Greece.

M. Cosmetatos, as historian of the post-war period, has endeavoured to dissipate these myths in the interests of good feeling between the nations, which is the basis of International peace.

If Mr. Reade thinks that M. Cosmetatos has "mis-described" the recall of the British Minister at Athens following the crime of 1922, he need only address himself to Sir Francis Lindley, now Ambassador to Norway.

Finally, Mr. Reade quibbles again with words when he pretends that M. Cosmetatos has ante-dated by 15 years the cession of Crete to Greece. Crete was completely liberated from Turkish domination in 1897, and constituted an autonomous principality under one of the sons of King George I, thanks to the dynastic influence of that king, and despite the defeat which

Turkey had just inflicted on Greece in that year. If *de jure* the union of Crete with Greece was not consummated until 1912, it was accomplished *de facto* in 1897.

It may be asked: What is the interest of this discussion for the English reader? He, concerned with the present and the future, may be inclined to think that all this belongs to the past, that its interest is purely historic. No! For in order to understand the present, which is the *effect*, it is necessary to understand the past, which is the *cause*. And that is even more important in attempting to conjecture the future.

England has a strong interest in the political and economic stability of Greece. Stability does not at present exist in Athens, for the political regime is the result of military convulsions and of deliberately planned violence by a minority who, inciting the lowest elements in the population, dishonest contractors, stock speculators and other adventurers, squander the public funds and lead the State astray. Hence the acute economic crisis and the growing general uneasiness provoked by government recklessness for some time past in Greece.

Here is the proof:—The municipal elections were held in June. M. Venizelos made the mistake of "neutrality" in these elections—neutrality meaning non-intervention of the government for the purpose of falsifying the ballot. Result:—Of 54 municipalities only eleven elected Venizelists: rage of M. Venizelos who was at The Hague: disgraceful pressure by his ministers in Athens upon the Courts to annul the elections!

It is significant that Athens elected as Mayor M. Mercuris, whom during the war M. Venizelos had deported as a "traitor." And all the large towns except the Piræus have elected royalist mayors.

The royalist party in Greece is the party of law, order, and stability, which, under the ægis of King George II, linked by such close ties with England, is alone capable of a true and lasting friendship with the British Empire. It is the only party in Greece which realises that England is naturally the best friend of Greece, the only nation with which Greece can advantageously co-operate on a large scale, equally in the economic as in the political field.

Imperial Economic Co-operation

By F. L. McDougall

THE intensification of public interest in the idea of closer Imperial economic co-operation, which has been manifested in the first sittings of the new Parliament and in the Press, is a fact of great significance. It shows that there is in this country a body of opinion, probably representing a majority of the electors, ready to give active support to schemes of Empire development. The strength of the position of those who believe in Empire co-operation is the greater in that the issue cuts clean across party lines; such opposition as there is derives from financial purists and fiscal dogmatists, types of mind in a minority in each of the three political parties. It would be unfortunate if the will to act, which undoubtedly exists, were rendered ineffective by being submerged in the morass of tariff controversy.

It is therefore impossible to avoid mixed feelings in regard to the campaign for Empire Free Trade launched with such ardour by Lord Beaverbrook. On balance the effects of this campaign are likely to be salutary for Lord Beaverbrook, and the distinguished men who have collaborated with him have clearly expounded the central fact that Great Britain herself and the countries that make up the overseas Empire have everything to gain by a policy of economic co-operation. The magnificent headlines of the *Daily* and *Sunday Express* will bring home to their million and a half readers the lesson taught for three years by the Empire Marketing Board that "Empire Development means Prosperity." The articles by such authorities as Lord Melchett and Sir Harry McGowan have expounded the new technique of mergers and industrial rationalization now available for economic co-operation. The general atmosphere of the campaign, with its insistence that something must be accomplished, is exactly the preparation which the country needs to give a maximum significance to the

coming Imperial Conference. The slogan of the campaign, "Free Trade within the Empire," requires, however, the closest examination. Literally interpreted, it means: first, that Great Britain should adopt a general tariff, including taxes upon food and raw material, in order to give protection and preference to the products of the Empire, whether manufactured or grown at home or overseas, and secondly, that the Dominions should admit British goods free, whilst maintaining protective tariffs against foreign goods.

The advantages that industrial Britain might confidently expect to derive from the establishment of absolutely sheltered markets within the whole Empire, which represents both in area and population a fourth part of the whole world, are so great that it is easy to understand the attitude of those who advocate a policy of general protection. In view, however, of the experience of 1923 and of the psychological effect of the pledges against new food taxes given in 1924 and renewed in 1929, it would require a light-hearted optimism to imagine the rapid conversion of the British electorate to a policy based upon the general taxation of food. The interest of the consumer, perhaps to the disadvantage of the producer, has been considered paramount for too long for any rapid change to be effected, and it must be remembered that the 5,000,000 new women voters must politically be expected to swell the consumers' vote. It is to be feared that the advocacy of general protection and tariff preference as the one sure road to Empire economic co-operation would renew sterile fiscal controversies, and would delay the very results it aspired to achieve.

If, then, the literal interpretation of Empire Free Trade is of more than doubtful political sagacity in Great Britain, what of the position in the Dominions and India? It is of first-class importance to realise that, even if Great Britain were prepared to tax all foodstuffs and raw materials for preferential purposes, the Dominion and Indian Governments could not reciprocate by the free admission of all British manufactured goods. Such action would run counter to the whole national policy of the Dominions and of India. It would be useless to

expatiate upon the possible economic advantages to the several Dominions of such a policy, for the determination to maintain secondary industries is based upon larger and more fundamental considerations than immediate prosperity. The younger nations of the British Commonwealth are determined to develop a complete civilization. They remember that history shows the arts of civilization to have come from the cities rather than from the fields, and are convinced that the engineer and artisan, the chemist and the works manager have as valuable contributions to make in the building of the nation as the farmer or the pastoralist. With certain exceptions, the manufacturing industries of the Dominions and India would to-day collapse if exposed to the unrestricted competition of British industry. In most cases factories in the Dominions manufacture on too small a scale, and have to support too high a standard of living, to compete on level terms with the accumulated capital, experience and conditions of Bradford, Sheffield and Birmingham. The conclusion is clear that, if any literal interpretation of Empire Free Trade is too politically hazardous to be ventured upon in Great Britain, it is from the point of view of Dominion psychology and sociology, *impossible*.

The abolition of all duties in the Dominions and India upon British manufactured goods would, of course, involve serious problems of finance, for Dominion tariffs are as largely revenue-producing as protective, and there would also arise questions of compensation to Dominion manufacturers. It is not, however, necessary to discuss such questions here. It is recorded that during the progress of James I from Scotland to London, the Mayor of a certain town waited upon His Majesty with a hundred explanations as to why no merry peal of bells had sounded a welcome. The monarch graciously deigned to hear the list read, but when the Mayor explained that firstly the town had no bells, King James excused the Mayor from a recitation of the other ninety-nine reasons. So having reached the conclusion that literal Free Trade within the Empire is to-day impossible, there remains no reason for inflicting upon the reader consideration of further difficulties and objections.

If the creation of new tariff barriers against foreign

food and raw materials in Great Britain, and the abolition of all tariffs against Great Britain in the Dominions is to-day impracticable, do those facts imply that the field of Imperial economic co-operation is barren? Assuredly not. Already the sheltered markets which the Empire provides are of immense value to industrial Britain, and conversely the overseas Empire finds in the United Kingdom far and away the best market for its own produce.

That these facts are becoming clear is shown by the remarkable increase of interest in Empire development and Empire trade in the last few years. This must to a large extent be ascribed to the work of the Empire Marketing Board, which through posters and press publicity, through shopping weeks and exhibitions, has brought Empire affairs constantly before the public, and has thus educated different sections of the population to a higher appreciation of the value of the Empire to themselves.

Since the advent of the Labour Government it has been made plain that Ministers realise that in the measures they must take for the relief of the depression of British industry, and to secure increased employment, Empire development must play a large part. The fact that the Labour Government will continue to support the work of the Empire Marketing Board, and will find new money for Colonial development, is evidence that the new Government is not likely to prove less Imperially minded than their predecessors. Further, the suggestion made from Ministerial quarters that an Imperial Economic Conference should be held in conjunction with the forthcoming Imperial Conference, may be regarded as a most definite indication that closer Imperial economic co-operation is now the accepted national policy of Great Britain.

In the past, progress in Imperial economic co-operation has been frustrated by party strife, and by the internecine warfare between the free trader and the protectionist. To-day the basic ideas of Empire economics are no longer party politics. Political controversy will, of course, be continued, but on questions of method rather than on those of principle. If the idea of Empire Development can

be completely freed from the narrow limitations of doctrinaire controversy, a healthier and more constructive discussion will enable us to arrive at the best methods of attaining the highest economic efficiency in the Empire. The protectionist must be willing to give careful thought and sympathetic consideration to other methods than tariffs for achieving the common goal; the free trader ought likewise to be prepared to consider whether in some cases a customs duty may not be the simplest and most nationally advantageous method of assisting the marketing of certain agricultural products. The dogmatist should recede into the backwaters of academic discussion and leave the way clear for the pragmatist, the man of action.

Why can so much emphasis be laid on the importance of the development of inter-Imperial trade? A very brief consideration of world trade should supply the answer. The value of world trade calculated on the basis of 1913 prices was 20 per cent. greater in 1928 than in 1913, yet the volume of British export trade is still at least 10 per cent. below the 1913 level.

Many factors have combined to place a heavy burden on British industries which depend for their success on the maintenance of their export trade. The internal causes are too well known to need expansion here. A large measure of the depression has been caused by factors outside the control of the Government, the employer or the Trade Unions. The intensification of competition through the expansion of foreign industrial production has been one of the most striking features of post-war economic history, and has persistently increased the difficulties encountered by Great Britain in maintaining her pre-war share of the trade in her important markets of the foreign world. First the course of the export trade in manufactured goods from the great industrial countries of the world must be taken into account.

The most spectacular growth in recent exports of manufactures has taken place in the United States of America. In the years 1911–1913 manufactured exports from the United States were little over half those from Great Britain, but by 1928 the expansion of American

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industry has increased the value of manufactured exports until they are not far below the value of British exports in the same class; £530 million exported from the United States as against £580 million from Great Britain. Germany has made determined efforts to recover, as far as possible, her pre-war industrial position. Her obligation to make reparations payments has acted as a stimulus to her export trade. Within the year 1928 Germany achieved an increase in her manufactured exports of 13 per cent. France, too, has become a formidable competitor, the post-war enlargement and renovation of her industrial equipment having contributed to the sound foundation on which the French people have established a rapidly expanding export trade. The exports of French manufactures in 1927 were, in weight, 2½ times greater than the average for the years 1909–13.

The trade statistics of Japan, Italy, Netherlands and Czechoslovakia also reveal a very marked increase in the exportation of manufactures.

It must further be borne in mind that a number of foreign countries, formerly mainly agricultural, are attempting to secure a measure of self-sufficiency in their economic requirements through the encouragement of manufacturing. This development has had some effect in the restriction of markets for British goods.

In view of the increased industrial production among European countries, it is not surprising to find that, while in 1913 Europe absorbed 34 per cent. of British exports, yet in 1928 the percentage had fallen to 27·9. The United States of America has invaded all the markets of the world with very marked effects on the British share of the trade. American penetration has been particularly striking in the South American countries. The share taken by the United States of America in the trade of South America rose from 19 per cent. in 1913 to 34 per cent. in 1927, this representing the trebling of the volume of the United States' exports to this group of countries. In the same period the British share fell from 25 per cent. to 17 per cent. The same story can be told of the relative progress of America and Great Britain in supplying the imports of the Far East, where

Japan has also made a determined bid for trade. In 1927 Japanese exports to the four most important markets in the Far East were double those of Great Britain.

This picture of the growth of competition and its effect upon British trade would be indeed unhappy were it not for the fact that in the Empire markets Great Britain retains her preponderating position.

To-day the Empire group of markets purchase over 50 per cent. of the British export of finished manufactures, and the British share of the import trade of the Dominions, India and the Colonies averages nearly 40 per cent., whereas the proportion which Great Britain supplies of the import trade of the forty leading foreign countries averages only 9 per cent.

The shelter which the markets of the Empire afford to British manufacturers has materialised from a fortunate combination of political, economic, and sentimental elements.

Volumes might be written before a correct analysis would be arrived at of the contribution of each element towards the privileged position which British trade holds within the Empire. The relative importance of the various factors varies according to which Dominion or Colony is under consideration. There are also a number of imponderables in the problem which, while providing an excellent battleground for the academic mind, need not detain us here.

Nevertheless, one fact at least is certain, namely, that the tariff preferences granted by the Dominions and Colonies are exceedingly important to British trade. This was most clearly realised by the Balfour Committee, who in their final report stated that "it cannot admit of doubt that the preservation and development of these (preferential) advantages must be one of the cardinal objects of British commercial policy."

In spite of the advantages which proximity lends to the United States of America manufacturer, each Canadian purchases £3 11s. 10d. of British goods as against 7s. 10d. bought by each person in the United States of America. Australia and Argentine buy approximately the same value of goods from the world, but the volume of

Argentine's purchases from Great Britain was in 1928, £31 millions, whereas Australia bought £55½ millions worth. The population of China is almost 50% greater than that of India, but China buys £15 millions of British goods, and the value for India is £84 million. In Africa there is a striking divergence between the purchases of British goods by French and English possessions. French West Africa imports from Great Britain £2½ million, while British West Africa takes £15 million.

It is unnecessary to describe in greater detail the immense advantages that Great Britain enjoys in Empire markets. Great Britain's opportunity lies in the fostering of inter-Imperial trade, so that by maintaining or increasing her share in the import trade of Empire countries, she may share in the greater prosperity derived from the increasing purchasing power of the Dominions and Colonies. Through this growth of exports to Empire countries, British manufacturers should be enabled to reduce the burden of their overhead costs. The reduction of costs should, in turn, lead to a lowering of prices, and this would have a most valuable effect in placing British exports in a more favourable competitive position in foreign markets.

It is no less true that the prosperity of the Dominions and Colonies depends upon closer Imperial co-operation.

Although the policy of encouraging certain types of industrial production has become accepted in the Dominions and India, nevertheless, to an overwhelming extent, their economy remains based upon agriculture and mining. The trade with Great Britain is therefore complementary rather than competitive. The Dominions and Colonies export their surplus of foodstuffs and raw materials, and purchase in return manufactures, at least 50 per cent. of which come from Great Britain, which in turn is far and away the best market for Empire agriculturists.

International competition in the products of agriculture is hardly less intense than in the products of industry. The Dominion and Colonial producers are faced with the vast resources and output of the United States of America and South American countries. Some Dominion produce encounters unfair competition from

the low wage-paying and sweated labour conditions in Eastern European and Asiatic countries.

Recently the United States has proposed two legislative measures which are likely to have serious effects on Dominion and Colonial export trade. The Farm Relief Act has already become law. Under this Act the State is to make £200,000,000 available to assist agricultural marketing, and this may make possible the disposal of the overspill of United States agricultural production on overseas markets at prices much below those charged internally: a policy of dumping assisted by State finance. If the proposed tariff bill of the United States becomes law, Empire agriculturalists will be faced with the virtual exclusion of their produce from the American market, and this would have a particularly damaging effect on Canadian farmers. These threatened restrictions have already resulted in an increased anxiety among Dominion and Colonial producers to market their produce in Great Britain: a movement which will have a powerful effect upon Imperial co-operation.

The potential capacity of the Empire to produce food, raw materials and minerals almost baulks the imagination. Practically every commodity of economic value is obtainable to some extent within the Empire. Certain staples such as wheat, wool and rubber, are already produced in greater quantities than can be consumed by Empire countries. There are, however, many agricultural and mineral industries, the expansion of which is retarded through lack of capital and of technical knowledge, or owing to the difficulty of establishing markets through the entrenched position of foreign competitors. The problem of Imperial economic co-operation is to secure the highest economic efficiency for each part of the Empire. The task, therefore, before the Imperial Economic Conference will be to discover the means for attaining this end. Although the pursuit of productive efficiency in industry must mainly be carried on by the individual Empire countries, yet there remains much scope for Empire team work. Considerable progress has already been made in joint schemes of attack in the field of applied agricultural science; a great deal more, however, remains to be done, and it is to be feared that the essential

corollary of scientific investigation, namely, the communication of its results to the farmer, has made but little progress, either in Great Britain or in the overseas Empire. An urgent need is for the establishment of an economic intelligence service for Empire agriculture, and, indeed, for Empire industry. The failure to appreciate the competitive position in world markets which has caused so much waste of capital and of endeavour in the past cannot entirely be remedied unless steps are taken to provide the information upon which sounder decisions can be based. In each of the larger self-governing parts of the Empire attempts are being made to discover the comparative economic advantage which each country would enjoy in respect of certain crops, or trades. The task is being undertaken by Government Departments, or by specific bodies such as the Australian Development and Migration Commission or the newly-established Bureau of Economic Research. The supply of data and information on world development from a central Imperial body would greatly facilitate what must otherwise prove a series of slow and difficult investigations.

Industrial efficiency within the Empire concerns both Great Britain and the Dominions. It is recognised that there is pressing need for rationalization in British industry in order to eliminate wasteful production, over-capitalisation, and to reduce costs. In comparison with some of her important industrial competitors, rationalization of British industry has made slow progress.

The Dominions are beginning to realise that they cannot effectively undertake every type of manufacture. There is evidence of a movement in the direction of a more careful selection of those industries which it is thought desirable and economically sound to encourage by tariff or other means. The opportunity is thus created to apply the conception of rationalization of industry on an Empire basis. At the Imperial Economic Conference it should be possible for the Prime Ministers to give a lead to the industrialists of Great Britain and of the Dominions which would encourage the careful exploration of the possibilities of rationalization by those who are alone able to carry such a policy into effect. Already in the motor industry there is a movement

towards a division of labour whereby British manufacturers would undertake to export the chassis or perhaps the engines, leaving to the Dominion manufacturer the work of making up the body and other parts, assembling the chassis and even making parts of the frame. It would be a splendid achievement if discussion at the Imperial Economic Conference led to arrangements whereby a number of industrial conferences were held between British and Dominion representatives of each industry in which there appeared to be scope for a rational division of production.

Rational and efficient production must be matched by efficiency in transport, distribution and in marketing. Many problems have arisen which are more capable of solution along Imperial than on national lines, and which will provide constant work for such bodies as the Imperial Economic and Shipping Committees and the Empire Marketing Board.

Although increased efficiency in production and distribution would solve many present difficulties, the problem of marketing would in many instances still remain. The Governments of Canada and Australia have both recently announced their desire to render still more effective the system of preferences given to imports from Great Britain.* If such action proves practicable, it will enable British manufacturers to look with increased confidence to assured markets which will expand as Dominion prosperity increases.

While, economically and psychologically, it is of the utmost importance that the existing preferences given by Great Britain should not be changed unless adequate compensatory alternatives can be found, yet under present political conditions in Great Britain it is clear that methods other than tariff preferences must be explored for the further assistance of the marketing of Home, Dominion and Colonial agricultural products. The exploration of alternatives to tariff methods is a task of great complexity, for Great Britain is virtually precluded from establishing an import license system by the

* It is interesting to note that since this was written the Commonwealth of Australia has substantially increased the preferences in British motor vehicles, silk, artificial silk and cinema films.

Geneva Convention, and by clauses in the Anglo-German Commercial Treaty. Methods of direct subsidy are unpopular, and also fail to give that feeling of confidence to the recipients which is essential if production is to be increased.

The elimination of alternatives may result in close study being devoted to the possibilities of some system of bulk purchase. There appears to be no reason why bulk purchase should necessarily imply a State corporation which would have the sole right of importing the commodity in question. State trading is unpopular and a more acceptable method might be for an amalgamation of importers in Great Britain, to place long-term contracts for the purchase of Empire products. Under such arrangements it might be possible to guard against a price-cutting policy on the part of foreign competitors by some form of Government guarantee to the purchasing body, to operate only in cases where dumping could be proved. The knowledge that machinery existed in Great Britain to make effective, when need arose, the voluntary preference which already exists to buy Empire goods, would encourage the Empire farmer at home and overseas to undertake the application of more intensive methods of production on his farm, and so increase his output and add to the prosperity not only of his country, but also of the whole Empire.

In conclusion, it may be useful to remind those whose main interest in the Empire centres round migration, that it has become clear that development must precede any large increase in overseas settlement. The effective prosecution of an Empire-wide campaign to secure efficiency in production, and in marketing, and the evolution of measures whereby under certain circumstances some form of protection could be afforded against the more relentless forms of foreign competition, would do more to stimulate the flow of migrants than all the activities of Government departments and societies devoting their energies to the direct task of the transference of population.

Languages of the Baltic

By Major E. W. Polson Newman

ONE of the most interesting changes that has taken place in the Baltic region since the Great War has been the reappearance and development of a number of native languages, some of which have lain practically dormant for centuries, to replace as far as possible the better known tongues of the former ruling Powers; and this transition has given rise to a linguistic confusion, baffling even to the adequate linguist in the ordinary sense of the term. If the transition were complete, the situation would be somewhat simplified, but the fact that the native languages of the newly created Baltic republics are almost unknown outside these territories makes it necessary that, in each case, some common European tongue should be retained and encouraged as a means of communication with other countries and in the interests of commerce. In recent years the English language has made great headway in different parts of the world, but there are few areas where our national tongue is more sought after than on the shores of the Baltic; and this aspect of the question has a far-reaching importance from the British point of view.

While the purely Scandinavian countries of Sweden, Norway and Denmark have undergone little change since pre-war days, the countries on the east of the Baltic have passed through a period of linguistic revolution, and Finland in the north and Poland in the south have been faced with new problems calling for a reorientation of their linguistic conditions. So far as the Scandinavian countries are concerned, the only facts that need recording are that, while German still maintains to some extent its position as the second language of Sweden, English is the more popular language in Norway and is increasing its influence in Denmark. For purposes of international communication and commerce the Scandinavian countries have to adopt the same policy as the new republics, but as their languages are better known, they can afford to do so in a less degree than their eastern neighbours.

In Finland there are two recognized languages: Finnish, which is founded on the language of the peasant population of the whole interior of the country; and Swedish, which was formerly the language of the administration, and is to-day spoken by the urban and rural populations of parts of the south, south-west, and west coasts. In the universities Swedish has maintained a notable position as a language of instruction, although it is only spoken by one-tenth of the population of Finland. At the end of the Tsarist regime Finland still enjoyed a certain measure of autonomy as an independent Grand Duchy; a national culture in the Finnish language had developed during the second half of the nineteenth century; and by the beginning of the twentieth century Swedish had already long ceased to possess the monopoly of culture. In proportion as there grew up a middle class of Finnish-speaking people, consisting of highly cultured men and women, and as a strong Finnish-speaking element established itself in the towns, Swedish seemed more and more to become a minority language, and was still further displaced from its former position. It must not, however, be imagined that Swedish has been the most important medium of culture between Finland and continental Europe; for Finnish-speaking students have long had direct relations with the leading European centres of learning, and have not had to resort to Swedish as a medium of cultural relations with other countries. While Swedish is an easier language to learn and is more widely known than Finnish, the difference is not sufficiently great to justify its being regarded as a *lingua franca*, and hitherto German has occupied that position as being best suited to Finnish needs. Since the war, however, the Finns have come to realize that English is of greater importance to them commercially, as most of their export trade is now with Great Britain and the United States; and there is a strong movement on foot to make English the second language of the country, compulsory in all the schools, and to make Swedish only optional for all Finnish-speaking people. While this measure would undoubtedly be in the commercial interests of Finland, it would also help considerably to promote British export

trade to the Finnish market. The adoption of English as the second language would itself encourage English people to visit a country of great natural charm and attraction, and tourists are the forerunners of trade; existing trade would be made easier on both sides; and a natural sympathy would exist between this country and another land where the English language was spoken. The Geographical Society of Finland have done a great service to both countries by producing an atlas, with an explanatory volume in English, which I believe to be unique of its kind; and even a casual study of this remarkable work is sufficient to provide much valuable and absorbing information about Finland, which is painfully lacking in this country. Many people will study an atlas who will not read serious books about a country that is little known to them, and by this means they absorb knowledge without any apparent effort. While this publication is calculated to rouse British interest in Finland, the Finns are trying to inaugurate a scheme by which they can obtain scholarships for study at British universities.

The language question in Finland has never been properly understood in this country, where a false impression has been created that the Swedish-speaking Finns represent the only cultured elements of Finland. This is far from being the case, and when it is realized that often members of the same family speak different languages according to their local environment or professional circumstances, it is more than obvious that both languages represent one form of culture expressed in different ways. It was when the different languages became the partial basis of political parties that the question assumed a serious aspect. The Finnish-speaking people resented the resistance of the Swedish-speaking people to the Finnish national movement, which in the early nineteenth century found its first expression in the Swedish literature of Finland, Swedish being still the language of the cultured classes. The poems of Runeberg had stirred up a love of Finland among the educated people of the country, while the philosophy of Snellman, also in the Swedish language, had created a deep interest in public and political questions. On the other hand,

the Finnish-speaking people, who were in the vast majority, were embittered by the fact that they had to fight tooth and nail to establish their national tongue as an official and cultural language. At first, the programme of the Swedish Party was not merely a language programme, the language question taking a secondary place, but there gradually arose a strong desire to resist every demand of the Finns. Moreover, the language question was connected up with other matters with which it had no direct relation, and at the very beginning the contest became a class difference, as the Swedish Party chiefly consisted of the upper and official classes. Hence a situation was created which at one time seemed to threaten to affect the consolidation of the Finnish nation, and it was not improved by the fact that both sides introduced a certain theory of nationality which has no foundation in reality. Perhaps one of the strongest proofs of one nationality in Finland is to be found in the recent dispute with Sweden over the Åland Islands, when the Swedish-speaking people were just as determined as their Finnish kinsmen that this territory should remain an integral part of Finland. In the Finnish as well as in the Swedish educated community there are some elements that are originally Finnish, some that are originally Swedish, and others that are of foreign origin. There is scarcely more racial difference between the two communities than there is between the people of the French and German *cantons* in Switzerland; but Finnish has now come to stay as the cultural language of Finland, and any efforts to resist a normal course of events must be chiefly to the disadvantage of those who fail to accept changed conditions in their own country.

Officially, Finland is bi-lingual, and the Swedish-speaking people have privileges far above those of any other minority in Europe. While English and German are spoken a good deal among the educated classes, there are very few Finns who have any knowledge of Russian, and French is little spoken outside diplomatic circles. Owing to the difficulty of their own language and the fact that it is little known outside Finland, and possibly Estonia, the Finns are quick in mastering foreign tongues, and are therefore little handicapped by what may at first seem to be linguistic isolation.

LANGUAGES OF THE BALTIC

Before the war Russian was the official language in the former Baltic Provinces of the Russian Empire, although German was spoken by the Baltic barons and had really become the language of culture; and the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian tongues were suppressed in varying degree during the whole period of Russian domination. Indeed, it was not until the Great War and the Russian Revolution that these native languages had an opportunity of becoming the common mode of expression of the peoples to whom they belonged. In former times, intercourse with the outside world was much restricted, and was more or less confined to commercial dealings with Russia and Germany. It is not easy to say whether the Russians or the Baltic barons were the more disliked by these Baltic peoples, as the dislike varied at different times according to the conditions prevailing in different parts of these provinces; but the fact remains that this dislike was so acute that every effort is now made to obliterate as far as possible all traces of former domination. Hence, with changed conditions, the native tongues of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, are jealously fostered in universities and schools, as well as for every day use, while Russian and German are only used when they are absolutely necessary as means of international intercourse.

Before the war, Estonia did not enjoy the measure of autonomy possessed by Finland in the empire of the Tsars, and the Estonian language was then merely a group of local dialects which could scarcely be termed a language of civilization. The local German aristocracy spoke their own language, and the University of Tartu had for a long time all the characteristics of a German university until it was eventually "Russified" by the Government of the Tsar. The cultured classes were, therefore, for the most part, confined to those educated in German culture, and in later years in that of the Russian Empire. It is only in comparatively recent years that Estonian culture proper has been able to express itself to any forcible extent, and has begun to take its place as an integral part of European civilization. While there is a marked similarity between Estonian and Finnish, Latvian and Lithuanian are closely allied, and may almost be regarded as two branches of the same

language, differing mainly in the fact that the vocabulary of the former has been influenced by German and that of the latter by Russian words. But there is no similarity at all between Finnish and Estonian, on the one hand, and Latvian and Lithuanian on the other. Indeed, as the Estonians cannot understand either the Latvian or Lithuanian languages, most of the intercourse between these countries is still carried on in German or in Russian.

Formerly, Latvia and Lithuania were also incorporated in the Russian Empire, except one small portion of Lithuanian territory (Memel) which formed part of Prussia; and it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that they produced languages of culture in the modern sense of the word. Lithuanian emigrants to the United States contributed largely towards this national movement, which was given some rope by the Russian authorities in order to counteract Polish influence. The aristocracy and educated classes in Lithuania spoke mainly Polish, which had become the language of cultured society, while Russian remained the language of the schools and of commerce, and Lithuanian was only spoken by the uneducated peasants. When, therefore, the new States of Latvia and Lithuania were established as result of the war, their languages only needed to be extended in use, introduced into the schools, and enriched in order to increase their utility. Latvia is in this respect much more advanced than Lithuania; for while the latter is largely a country of illiterates, the former was one of the best educated provinces in the whole Russian Empire. The Jews, who have in their hands a great part of the commerce of Latvia, and nearly all that of Lithuania, have remained faithful both to their Yiddish and to the Russian language which it was their custom to adopt; and for this reason one usually hears Russian spoken in Kovno, the Lithuanian capital, where a large proportion of the population is Jewish. On the other hand, there remains in Latvia a large class of aristocracy and *bourgeoisie* who speak German even after the agrarian reform which deprived the old landowners of the greater part of their estates; while in Lithuania there are still a number of Polish-speaking people in spite of the state of war maintained

between that country and Poland, and the German language still exists in the territory of Memel.

Latvia and Lithuania provide a complicated situation linguistically. Both languages are those of peasant populations recently adapted to culture; all the educated class, other than those who have just left school, have been brought up in German, Polish, or Russian; and in spite of the effort made to cultivate the native languages, the influence of Latvian and Lithuanian is still limited and cannot play an important part until new generations brought up in these languages begin to take part in public affairs and commerce. Even then all higher culture will continue to demand a thorough knowledge of foreign languages; for Latvian and Lithuanian do not satisfy the needs of those who look further than their own frontier, and in this respect come under the same category as Finnish and Estonian.

While German must still be regarded as the second language, or *lingua franca*, of Latvia, and Russian that of Lithuania, an important change is taking place in Estonia in favour of English. Hitherto German has been the Estonian language of commerce, but now it has practically been decided to adopt English to replace German as the first foreign language taught in the schools. Estonia, however, is a poor country whose people can ill afford either to buy English books in quantity or to meet the expenses of obtaining teachers from this country. Moreover, the cost of living in England is so much higher that Estonians find study in this country almost out of the question. It is, therefore, to be hoped that Lord Cecil's recent appeal* for English books will induce British universities, libraries, and private individuals to send as donations some of their surplus literature; for by so doing they will not only be helping this new State in its struggle to progress with the help of the English language, but they will also be making a notable contribution to British commercial interests in the Baltic.

But this remarkable sympathy towards English in Estonia by no means implies that the English language is not also making headway in Latvia and Lithuania.

* *The Times*, June 25, 1929.

In both these countries it is gradually gaining a foothold, in Latvia through the medium of the schools and in Lithuania chiefly owing to cultural relations with the United States where there are a considerable number of Lithuanian emigrants. The importance of the introduction of English into these countries does not lie so much in the cultural aspect of the question itself as in the stimulus thereby given to trading relations between Great Britain and the Baltic States, which may well provide valuable stepping-stones to the Russian market of the future. And what is more, commercial relations often lead to political interests, and there is no possible doubt that these newly created republics have urgent need of some definite form of external support to enable them to become strong and healthy political organisms, capable of resisting external pressure. It, therefore, seems clear that the propagation of the English language east of the Baltic should be whole-heartedly encouraged, in the interests of the Baltic States themselves and also as a forerunner of British trade with its possible political consequences.

Poland, on the other hand, presents still further linguistic complications, as Polish, Russian, White Russian, German, French, Ruthenian, Lithuanian, Czech, Yiddish, and a number of minor dialects are all spoken in the new Polish Republic, restored from the territory of the former German, Russian, and Austro-Hungarian Empires. Although nominally French is recognized as the second language of Poland, the fact remains that Polish is the only tongue that is readily understood in the course of ordinary travel. While it is true that German is spoken a good deal in the Province of Pomorze, or the "Polish Corridor," and in Polish Upper Silesia, Russian is often used for commercial purposes where people of different race are concerned, and Yiddish is very general among the large Jewish populations of Warsaw and other Polish cities. It is usually understood in this country and elsewhere that French is spoken as a second language by the great majority of Poles, but this is only the case in so far as the upper classes are concerned, and it is clearly in the interests of Poland's intercourse with other countries, especially with Western Europe,

that the French language should play a greater part in Polish national life than it does at the present time. While *L'Institut Français de Varsovie*, founded in 1924 by the University of Paris with the co-operation of the Universities of Nancy and Strasburg, does much to promote French culture in Poland, and the French language is taught in the schools, there are many important centres where Polish is the only language of conversation, and the foreigner who cannot speak or understand this difficult tongue is at a great disadvantage. A general increase in the knowledge of French would be a great advantage as a means of making Poland and her conditions better known abroad; it would facilitate commercial relations with other countries; and it would bring Polish culture into closer touch with the other ancient civilizations of Europe. Indeed, the French language is one of the most important bonds between Poland and Western Europe, and for this reason should be cultivated to the greatest possible extent. In Poland the English language has made little headway except among the higher official classes, partly owing to the distance separating the two countries and partly owing to other cultural relationships and to financial reasons. Comparatively few Englishmen make the journey to Poland except for official or business purposes, and Polish students usually gravitate towards the less expensive seats of learning in France, Belgium, or Italy, with which Poland has a strong cultural relationship of long standing. While in Paris and Rome there are considerable Polish communities with a deep and wide cultural influence, the Poles in London are for the most part of an entirely different class, being chiefly employed on manual work in and around the docks. But English is not necessary to Poland as it is to Finland and the Baltic States and, provided that French plays its proper rôle as the second language of the country, Poland's needs in this respect should be amply satisfied.

The Baltic peoples are realizing—what is undoubtedly true—that English is becoming more and more the language of international intercourse, and that it is taking the place of German in commerce just as it is supplanting French in social life. They are, therefore,

prepared to do all they can with the modest means at their disposal to acquire and cultivate a language that can be of immense value to them culturally, commercially, and perhaps politically as well. But, in order thoroughly to establish English as a *lingua franca* in any one of these countries, it is necessary that prospective teachers should have every facility to study in England and to do so under the most favourable conditions. It is also essential that as many students as possible should receive such assistance as to enable them to attend courses at British universities. The countries in question cannot at present afford to subsidize this branch of education to any great extent, but they can contribute a certain proportion of the cost; and it is surely not too much to expect the British Government also to contribute to a movement that is clearly in the interests of British trade in the Baltic.

Other European Powers, such as France, Germany and Italy, have spent, and are spending, considerable sums on the propagation of their cultures in foreign lands, and their efforts in this direction have met with no small success. Hitherto the British Government has left this work almost entirely in the hands of private enterprise, but they cannot afford to continue that policy indefinitely. These Baltic countries, especially Finland and Estonia, want to draw closer to Great Britain, and they now prefer the English language to any other. But it is necessary that the British Government should meet them half-way; give them every possible concession and facility; and remove such unnecessary restrictions as are keeping out of England many honest and well-intentioned people from the North, who wish to study England and the English language. If we wish to seize this opportunity of drawing closer to us a country that supplies us with a large proportion of our timber, and another that may help us to re-establish our connections with the Russian market, we should meet their linguistic proposals with a ready response. If we fail to do so, other European Powers are only too ready to grant the necessary concessions and facilities in order to increase their cultural influence.

Eight English Pictures

By Oliver Warner

It would be useful if one adjective existed, or could be coined, which would cover, graphically and completely, the width of the English genius. Naturally, none exists. To catalogue the qualities which go to its making is more possible, but can never be satisfactory, since it is not the sum, so much as the blend, which makes the whole; and the blend is capable of infinite variation.

There is, however, one way in which a quick conspectus of any national genius may be attained, which is by examination of representative works of art (or works which at least approach that superlative condition), and by trying to perceive whether or not they reveal it, and in what aspect. None may contain the whole essence; some may come near it. It will not always be found in the most obvious or the most popular places, for it is permanence that must be sought.

The English genius has no clear beginning and will have no end until the race ceases to exist. Though its elements incessantly modify, its continuity is always real, and generally apparent even in contemporary art, which is rightly in advance of general thought and appreciation. We feel this continuity more widely to-day, perhaps, than ever before; feel for instance that our kindred to Chaucer needs less emphasis than it did to Dryden, who "modernized" him; and when we wish to escape to congenial atmospheres, we fly swiftly enough, in mind, to the 18th century.

Of the primary artistic forms, painting is perhaps the most easily apprehended. The whole of a picture, and much of its significance, may be seen at a glance. The effect of literature is cumulative and more vague; that of architecture is, in a sense, similar to that of painting but, because subservient to utility, less pure in its expression and certainly less convenient to consider; that of sculpture even purer as art but less able to represent wide aspects of life; that of music intangible, though

capable of heights of beauty which, emotionally and intellectually, are supreme.

It is from painting that eight works have been chosen as representing English genius in some typical aspects. Though they may fall below the criterion of the greatest art, each is, in itself, pleasurable and of acknowledged beauty, and each appears to be directly derived from native inspiration, unalloyed in feeling, though not always in technique. They have been chosen from a comparatively narrow but accessible range. All hang within easy radius of Trafalgar Square; all are national property. In each the excellence partakes of a different quality, and, while some are masterpieces, all but one represent the high levels of English painting.

Anyone who fully apprehends these eight paintings, whether they consider the present appreciations have the slightest value or not, will know much that is essential in English genius. The choice is of necessity personal, and may even seem eccentric (though this particular quality would appear legitimate in any examination of things English) nor can it pretend to any full range, which could not be spanned by the largest collection. It is not strictly chronological, and is not primarily concerned with art as art, but with art as expressing national life.

I.

In the multiplicity of beauty held by the National Gallery, it is safe to say that the casual visitor, unless he concentrates on the British School—possibly even then—will overlook Henry Walton's picture "Plucking the Turkey." Though placed with extreme care so that the eye should catch sight of it in passing from one room to another, it has no general fame. The artist himself seems to have been almost as obscure as the generality of his work. Research reveals little about him except the mere fact that he was born in 1746 and died in 1813. What paintings of his exist are scattered; that in the National Gallery is the only example which is known to any general fame. Yet somehow this is fitting, for this one great painting speaks for the great anonymity of

English domestic life. Just a simple picture of a servant-girl at a humble kitchen task, it is the epitome of gentle obscurity.

The historian of painting, and the technician, will immediately detect in it the influence of the Frenchman Chardin (though in spirit it is nearer the Dutch masters), but it is an influence which cannot be emphasized, so individual and so lovely is the work in itself. If ever a representative English painting existed, it is this.

It is a lyrical painting; that of a mood. Its beauties are those of quiet harmony, of tenderness and of sensitiveness. Its qualities of decoration and of significance of subject are perfectly balanced. It has unity, vitality, which is given to it by the brightness of the head, the astonishing beauty of the line of the dress, and the curve of the arm to the slender hand; and it has both infinity and repose. Within its own limits—and it has, of course, neither ecstacy nor sublimity—it is a perfect work of art.

Consider, for instance, the texture of dress and apron, and the details of the chair, the basket and the turkey; all are examples of perfect selection and simplification. Yet no detail distracts the eye from the principal beauty of the picture, the sweetness of the girl's head, and its perfect poise.

Not least of its charms is its colouring, the pink of the cap, which is taken up in the delicacy of the skin; the quiet contrast of the dark plumage of the turkey and the lighter colour of the dress, the subtle variety of greens. Even in such details as the tints of the flagged floor it shows a master hand. It is one of those pictures whose beauty reveals itself slowly; it is the least insistent work of art in the world—and yet it is light! Turning back to it for a last glance, one perceives that this arresting quality is not the least of its loveliness.

It is only in superficialities, such as the headdress, that the picture belongs to the eighteenth or early nineteenth century. The face, which is an English face, is for all time. The girl's simplicity, her humility, her concentration on the task in hand, all these are permanent qualities which, though we may think they are dying, exist everywhere. She typifies the youth of the race which is born to recreate what is permanent. All the

goodness of woman is hers, though she is not an idealization. She is the source and backbone of our common life. And with all her tenderness and virtue, she is a little stupid.

II.

Hanging in the same room in the National Gallery as Henry Walton's unobtrusive masterpiece is another picture, equally English, but, though scarcely among the most famous pictures, slightly better known. It is George Stubbs's "Lady and Gentleman in a Phaeton." Few paintings more repay examination. It is a brilliant work, rich in colour and design. It is painted with superb accuracy and great vigour, and what is perhaps most astonishing about it is that the artist has taken as much pains to give life to the horses as to the occupants of the carriage. Clearly he desired two things; first to portray, in miniature but with perfect fidelity, a lady and a gentleman, and also to do justice to their possessions, the magnificent black horses and the elegant, racy phaeton. The emphasis of design is, of course, upon the portraits, but nothing, unless it be the foreground, which appears unnaturally smooth and conventionalized, is sacrificed to it. In colouring it is predominantly a bright, almost a dramatic painting; a symphony of exciting browns and greens; even the blackness of the horses has lustre. It is, indeed, full of contrasts which, though never too vehement in effect, are yet sufficiently startling.

Much more is known about George Stubbs than about Henry Walton. His character was as vigorous as his work was various. His predominant characteristic, as might be guessed even from a sight of this one picture, was independence. He thought things out for himself. He followed no School, and was among the first masterly English painters of horses, precursor of a tradition whose best-known living follower is Mr. A. J. Munnings. Anatomy, in which his interest began during childhood, was, with painting, his passion. He was born in Liverpool, and his career as a painter started under Hamlet Winstanley, by whom he was engaged to help in the copying of Lord Derby's pictures at Knowsley. It was

understood that Stubbs was to make his own choice of subjects, but his master so constantly objected that Stubbs, in a burst of fierce passion, said that "henceforward he would look into Nature for himself, and consult and copy her only." His decision was only the more confirmed when, in 1754 (at the age of thirty), he made a journey to Italy, in order to discover "whether nature were superior to art." He considered that it was.

For some time his passion for anatomy drew him away from painting. In 1758 he retired to Barton, in Lincolnshire, to write his "Anatomy of the Horse," which he did alone, and with extraordinary care.

Among his other and later activities was that of working in enamel for Wedgwood, and there also appeared his series of famous racehorses, which was commissioned by the "Turf Review."

He lived to the age of eighty-two, active to the last, and, as always, continuing his anatomical studies.

The facts of his life do much to illuminate his "Phaeton" picture; his delight in anatomy certainly explains the confidence, strength and knowledge with which the horses are drawn—his pleasure, indeed, in the whole subject-matter. But it is not technically alone that the picture is interesting. It illustrates, perfectly, an important facet of English life. It has the air and calm, almost the very smell of an English park. It has, also, an arrogance which belongs peculiarly to certain ranks of county society. The brother and sister are, surely *nouveaux riches* on at least one side; on the other they have at least a little "county" blood.

Of the two the brother is, no doubt, the more civil creature; but his smugness is impregnable. As for his sister, little redeems her. She is as vain as she is stupid. Both are expert in the superficialities of life; both are in essence uneducated. But both know the joys of elegance, and the pleasure of a fine animal, for which their century, their class and their country can overlook everything.

III

One of the conditions of acceptance by the National Gallery of Romney's picture of "Mrs. Robert Trotter

of Bush" was that it should never be copied or reproduced. The result of this veto is an astonishing sense of discovery which, on first sight, the painting gives. It is a dashing picture; not perhaps the equal, purely as art, of Romney's finest work, but certainly among the freshest and loveliest of his portraits. It has an air of topicality; fashionable when painted, it seems to have lost not one whit of its first lustre.

Even the clothes, conventionally "pretty" though they are, have a serenity and rightness which add to, but do not cloak, the beauty of the face depicted. Mrs. Trotter has an air of high integrity; her whole expression has a reserve and a dignity which are, in the best sense, aristocratic. Her loveliness is of a kind which has not passed and will not pass until the leisured tradition, in vanishing, bears it with it into oblivion, leaving a poorer world.

If it is argued that Romney's subject was a Scot, it may be replied that the beauty of Mrs. Trotter belongs to both nations, English and Scots, where they touch at their highest, and that an English painter has interpreted it most fittingly. All that is expressed by the word "lady," rightly used, is enshrined in Romney's picture, which is permanent not only as art but as a record of a race and class.

IV

For originality, and in its superb vitality and power, Hogarth's "Shrimp Girl" much transcends Romney's "Mrs. Trotter"; also, while Romney depicts a character rare in her high serenity, Hogarth goes straight to the root of the English common life; to the life of the coster, to the stuff of which Bank Holidays are made, to the true East-end and to the heart of a great seaport. He has personified England's rough vigour as no other master could have done. Deserting narrative and satire, in both of which he excelled, he proved if only by this one picture that he could be master of the lyric mood, and that he knew the English genius as few have done before or since. It is in every sense one of the greatly representative paintings.

V

Among notable eighteenth century portraits in the National Portrait Gallery is one of a little known character by an almost equally little known painter, Francis Wheatley's "Arthur Phillip." It is perhaps the strangest picture of a maker of empire ever painted. It depicts a naval officer of about 1800, in the handsome uniform of the period, landing from a ship's boat on a rocky and unknown shore. The man himself presents a curious rather than a striking figure. His whole expression is determined, but querulous. The eyes are puzzled, the mouth voluptuous. The hips are over broad, and the whole appearance of the man is an incongruous one. Yet it is just of such incongruities that Empires are made; they are maintained by men of quite another fashion. England produces men of both kinds.

Arthur Phillip followed an ordinary naval career until 1786, when he was forty-eight, and a captain. He was then chosen to form a new convict settlement in Australia, a commission of grave difficulty. "I cannot say," wrote Lord Howe to Lord Sidney, "the little knowledge I have of Captain Phillip would have led me to select him for service of this complicated nature." Nevertheless, he was sent, and either circumstances made the man, or Howe sadly misjudged him.

The expedition, threatened continually by convict mutiny, arrived at last in the Antipodes. Phillip, not caring for the situation of Botany Bay, proceeded to Port Jackson, which he liked better. There the expedition disembarked, so founding the town of Sidney (named after Lord Sidney). Then trouble began in good earnest. The soil proved poor; rations were short; and the temper of the convicts most uncertain. Months passed with no news of home, rations grew even shorter, and tension was only slightly relieved by some further small supplies from the Cape. Meanwhile, Phillip was exploring, and conciliating the natives. He was wounded by a spear on one expedition, but would allow no retaliation; he settled Norfolk Island; he eventually won Bellilong, the native chief, to his side; he quelled, instantly and

successfully, the constantly rebelling convicts and, at last, six years after he had sailed, he returned home, exhausted but successful. He died in 1814, Vice-Admiral of the White.

His story speaks for itself, and reveals his character as perfectly as Wheatley's picture, which, in addition to its virtue as a portrait, has a background of exquisite fitness. The colouring is very fine, and the picture shines even amid its distinguished surroundings.

It is said, perhaps too frequently, that the English have a habit of muddling through. Possibly this is true; if so, much in this picture reveals the reason.

VI

There is no single landscape which conveys, with any comprehension, the beauty of the English countryside, but in the works of one painter, Constable, much of that which is most lovely has found permanent expression. His larger canvasses are famous enough, but among those which are sometimes overlooked is a small picture, called "Stoke-by-Nayland," which hangs in the National Gallery.

Constable has caught, in this picture, something of the spirit, the peace, the richness, above all the infinite greenness and brownness of an English scene. The picture is, artistically, anonymous; it is any place; any field in any county in the heat of any summer day. In the background, subtly insinuated into the painting, are the white figures of three workers in the fields. By some magic, within that tiny space, Constable has achieved the impossible, has mirrored the infinite beauty of that which was beloved long before Chaucer and will be praised when every living tongue is silenced.

VII

Although, as a nation, the English may be shy of art, they have never been averse to illustration, which explains the appearance of many strange pictures in the Tate Gallery. Moreover, they have excelled in this accomplishment. In no other nation could such a picture,

for instance, as Sir Luke Fildes's, " The Doctor," have achieved such general popularity, or the work of Sir Frank Dicksee. England has never lacked painters, or writers, of very excellent sentimentality who, without real pretence to art, do at least convey many of the kinder aspects of England.

Almost the best example is Forbes's " Health of the Bride," which hangs, along with so many other superb illustrations, in the Tate. It depicts, with careful detail and perfect clarity, a scene which goes straight to the heart of any woman and most men. In a large room (which is evidently the dining-room of an hotel in a seaport, for outside the window the mast of a ship is visible) are seated a poor but respectable family, ranged round a long table. There are men, women and children of every age in this assembly, but all, like the gallant petty-officer and the fond father who are raising their glasses to the bride, are animated by the feeling of spontaneous good-will and utter kindness. On each of those humble faces, including even those who, not of the party, are serving the food, tenderness, and a reflective sentimentality are written large. Except in the curiously hard face of the bride herself, there is not a harsh line in the picture.

Yet its observation is first-rate; fail it may purely as art, but the faces it depicts are true faces, and the whole scene painted with perfect fidelity. Having gazed upon that picture, an observer may understand much which, fortunately is permanent in English character; may see an immense loyalty, and a tenderness which is far removed from superficiality. It is Dickens's England, without Dickens's caricature.

VIII

Nothing could be more utterly removed, both in emotion and execution, from Forbes's " Health of the Bride," than Stanley Spencer's modern painting " The Resurrection " whose huge space occupies, almost obscenely as some think, so great a space in the Tate. this picture depicts the graveyard of a country church disgorging its dead at the sound of the last trump.

Nor does it disgorge white-robed angels, as hymns maintain, but figures as macabre as the strange monuments by which living men think fit to commemorate them. The dead are, indeed, a reflection upon their own monuments.

It is a picture notable for extremes of imagination and rare harmonies of colour; not one to excite general liking, but one which, to those able to apprehend its boldness and its humour, is of deep and permanent satisfaction. It is in the imaginative tradition, not of Dickens, but of the "Anatomy of Melancholy" of Sir Thomas Browne and—in our own day—of Mr. T. F. Powys.

So manifold is the English genius that the common ground of these eight pictures scarcely exists. The Englishry, like their beauty, remains in the eye of the beholder; is felt, but is not easily to be analysed. "Plucking the Turkey" and "Health of the Bride" have affinity; so have "Mrs. Trotter" and "The Shrimp Girl," and "Lady and Gentleman in a Phaeton" and "Arthur Phillip"; but merely to catalogue these paintings is to recall their essential difference.

The Coming of Ah Foke

By Ray Carr

CARVELL raised his head from his pillow and listened intently. He was sweating with fear. Outside, the rain was descending with the full violence of the monsoon; it drummed upon the roof of the bungalow whence it descended in hissing streams to the ground.

The night was inky black and Carvell strained his eyes in vain to pierce the darkness that pressed close about his bed . . . . Now there was no sound beyond the roar of the falling rain; yet, but a moment ago, he could have sworn that he had heard a footfall upon the verandah.

"Maung Pu," he called.

There was no answer. He had scarcely expected one for he knew the ways of Maung Pu, his Burmese servant. Early in the evening he had sent the man into the native village, a couple of miles distant, to fetch his mail; and when darkness came without the return of Maung Pu, Carvell guessed that the scoundrel had got drunk. In the morning he would turn up with the same lame excuse for his absence. And yet, recognizing the futility of it, he called again to the man.

"Maung Pu! Is it you, Maung Pu?"

Upon the table beside his bed was an electric torch and, fumbling with the folds of the mosquito net, he reached for the torch and switched it on. Round the room swung the beam of light revealing everything in its proper place. Besides, the scanty furniture could afford no concealment to an intruder. The doors and windows were wide open and framed nothing more than glistening pencils of rain.

Torch in hand, Carvell pushed the net over his head and got out of bed. Half a dozen steps took him to the verandah, the floor of which was wet, and as he stood in the doorway, drops of moisture flicked into his face and against his singlet.

The verandah was empty. A wooden table and three chairs comprised its furniture and on a hook upon the

wall hung his topee and walking stick. That was absolutely all. Nowhere for even a cat to hide . . . .

Reassured, and yet not wholly certain that he had deceived himself, Carvell turned back into his room. But he did not return immediately to his bed. By the light of a candle that flickered and guttered in the sudden gusts of wind, he took his revolver from a tin box. As he loaded the weapon he told himself that in the morning he would dismiss Maung Pu. The fellow was worthless. It mattered not a jot to him that his master was alone in a jungle bungalow. Even the coolie lines were nearly half a mile distant from Carvell's residence.

And Maung Pu knew, too, that his master was unpopular. What difficulties there had been in engaging coolies to clear this patch of jungle that he was planting with rubber! The villagers resented his taking up the area, for it interfered with their forest rights. Furthermore, they had heard of that trouble with Ah Foke . . . .

Ah Foke! Carvell did not want to think about him, or about the girl Ma Lat. Ah Foke, he hoped, was safe in Rangoon jail. He had been caught redhanded with a large consignment of opium and received a sentence of two years.

Reluctantly, as he climbed back into his bed, Carvell did a simple problem in mental arithmetic. Ah Foke's two years must be nearly at an end; prisoners usually gained some remission of sentence.

A fit of sudden terror seized him and he reached for the revolver beneath the pillow. In the darkness the hard feel of its butt reassured him . . . . But supposing that it was Ah Foke's footfall that had sounded upon the verandah?

Carvell endeavoured to smile at his fears. Ah Foke was in jail and old Jackie Thompson in Rangoon had promised to warn him as soon as the Chinaman was released. And yet he wished that Maung Pu had not chosen to absent himself on such a night . . . .

The revolver made a comforting bulge in his pillow and he endeavoured to dismiss Ah Foke from his mind; but the rain still descended in torrents and every few moments he found himself straining to catch some sound for which the downpour did not account.

Ah Foke and the girl Ma Lat! She was Ah Foke's daughter by a Burmese woman, and her father took great pride in her. Carvell recalled his first meeting with her in the Chinaman's musty little shop in the Mudon bazaar. She had smiled and chattered away to him freely in Burmese and was obviously pleased to be noticed by an Englishman. At that first meeting Carvell determined to win her; to him a native woman was little more than a chattel to be used and cast aside. And Ma Lat seemed a very desirable plaything .... Vividly there came back to him the hue of her silken waistcloth. Orange with some emerald green lights in it. In her hair were scented jasmine blossoms. She was smoking a black cheroot, one of her own making, and laughingly offered him half a dozen to try. Damn the little baggage! Carvell almost wished he had never met her ....

Of course, there had followed an intrigue; and the matter had been concealed from her father. Ah Foke was a sinister man, lean and wizened. He walked with a decided limp, the result of a wound sustained in some affray of smugglers. The people of Mudon feared him, and asserted that he was one whom it was not well to thwart. This added a spice of danger to the adventure and, at the time, Carvell rather prided himself upon outwitting the redoubtable Ah Foke. But now—well, he wished that he had left the girl alone ....

The rain still drummed upon the bungalow roof; but he could hear nothing else. He was frightening himself unnecessarily .... And Ah Foke was in Rangoon, behind doors that were barred and locked!

The trouble with Ma Lat began when he left Mudon on a jungle trip. She insisted upon accompanying him; he had given her the slip, but she followed and rejoined him at his first halt. For a fortnight they lived together; and then, one evening in a Rest House at which they had halted, Ah Foke appeared. He had walked up to Carvell slowly and with that 'dot and carry one' step of his, his eyes gleaming with intense hatred. "Because you are a Thakin you imagine that you can steal my daughter. No man steals from me, and I do not look to the law for help." At that, Carvell laughed, and pointed to a pile of luggage stacked in a corner. "Those belong to the

Assistant Superintendent of Police. He stays here to-night. Even if you do not require his assistance, you will not dare to punish me whilst he is here." Whereat the Chinaman had grinned sourly and said that he could well afford to wait. And with that unsteady gait of his he limped away.

Carvell did not see him again, and within a fortnight he had been arrested upon a smuggling charge. He was an old offender and the authorities did not deal with him lightly . . . . Two years in Rangoon jail.

In a few months Carvell came to tire of the girl. After all, apart from her looks, she had little to commend her. Naturally, she was devoted to him, but so had been many other women . . . . What induced her to poison herself when he sent her away? Surely she had always realized that he was not going to keep her for ever? Could he be blamed for her stupid action? . . . . But Ah Foke would blame him.

Above the sound of the monsoon storm it seemed to Carvell that there was again another noise, a faint tap . . . tap along the verandah. Throwing aside the thin sheet that covered him, he sat up and stared through the darkness in the direction of the doorway. Torch and revolver were both handy . . . . Peering and listening he waited; and once again said to himself that he was imagining things . . . . But the sound was just that of a foot shod in a rough country shoe, a shoe of the very kind worn by Ma Lat's father.

A strong breeze freshening at times to sudden gusts blew through the room. Yet Carvell sweated, and he felt his singlet clammy and damp against him . . . .

This would never do! Again he turned on the torch and swung its beam about the emptiness of his room; again he went to the doorway and, light and revolver in hand, surveyed the rain-swept and deserted verandah.

But he should not have switched on that torch. It gave an intruder warning. Plenty of time to slip from the verandah and hide beneath the bungalow . . . . Wiser to remain in the dark and wait . . . .

Striving against panic, holding to the last shreds of his common sense, Carvell went to his bed . . . .

Was Ah Foke lying in wait for him? . . . . Would it

not be better to hunt the fellow? . . . . But then it was so dark, and the torch might so easily go wrong . . . . Escape to the village or the coolie lines! No, impossible! . . . . That narrow jungle path, treacherous with mud and clinging creepers, would make an ideal trap. So easy for a murderer to make a swift end to things . . . . Besides, what tale could he tell his coolies? . . . .

He made a last effort to rid himself of his fears and to sleep. Instead, he found himself listening against the turmoil of the downpour, straining to hear those footsteps. Minutes passed like hours . . . .

After an eternity of time he heard them again. Unmistakable this time, and coming from the far end of the verandah. Tap . . . . tap, tap . . . . tap. Ah Foke's walk. Carvell would recognize that 'dot and carry one' tread amongst a thousand.

Tap . . . . tap, tap . . . . tap.

The revolver and the torch . . . . But he must not use the torch yet. Hand beneath the pillow, he groped for his revolver.

Tap . . . . tap, tap . . . .

Ah Foke must be at the door now. God! He could stand this darkness no longer . . . . The light wavered and jumped in his trembling hand, and for an instant danced madly across the open doorway. There, yes, a shadowy figure . . . . And Carvell tugged at his revolver, his finger upon the trigger. Damn the thing! It was caught in the pillow. Frantically he wrenched at it . . . . Ah Foke must be in the room . . . . A muffled report. For an instant, Carvell knelt immobile above the pillow; then, lifeless, he tumbled forward, killed by his own bullet . . .

* * * *

In the rain-washed morning, Maung Pu made his way back to the bungalow. He had been very drunk last night, and not yet had he concocted an excuse to account for his absence. His head ached and Carvell, he knew, would be very angry.

The bungalow stood out clear in the sunlight. The palm trees about it swayed in the breeze and their great branches still glistened with the night's rain. Maung Pu stood at the edge of the jungle clearing and surveyed

the scene before him. There was no sign of his master. Perhaps, after all, it would be safer to run away and to save himself a beating.

Doubtfully he gazed at the envelopes in his hand. There were two letters and the buff cover of a telegram. This latter had been thrust at him by the Mahommedan postmaster as he walked past the little office this morning. These things might be important. But a beating was a beating . . . .

Quickly the Burman pushed the envelopes into a neighbouring bush and turned his back upon the bungalow. He went from it faster than he had approached . .

The telegram happened to have been dispatched from Rangoon very early that morning. It was from old Thompson and contained the words " Ah Foke died in jail yesterday."

Silence reigned in the bungalow throughout that day, save when, from time to time, a gust of wind caused the stick which hung upon the hook in the verandah to sway. And then, sometimes, it would strike the wall . . . . Tap . . . . tap, tap . . . . tap . . . .

Journey's End

Another Point of View

By H. T. W. Bousfield

ANY play that pretends to be in some sort history is more than a casual entertainment; it has a definite effect upon the public who go to see it. After many months of unvarying success the public that has seen *Journey's End* has grown to considerable dimensions. Great numbers of ordinary men and women, young and old, have seen it and gone quietly away, and "everybody who is anybody" has seen it too, and gone away to proclaim its wonders, its truth, its force, its—every approving epithet that is fashionable at the moment. The play is a sensation, just as a bull fight is a sensation. We have not yet a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Ideals.

If a few common men who fought in the war, instead of writing about it, abstain from the general chorus of approbation, their views very naturally have not achieved the dignity of print.

I have no fault to find with the technique of *Journey's End*. It is a very clever play indeed. The dozens of managers, who, one is informed, rejected it, have only themselves to thank for losing a fortune. In fact, it is hard to understand how anybody (even a theatrical manager) could have failed to recognize its money-making qualities—and equally hard to believe that the abysmally bad taste of the thing could have been responsible for its rejection.

Journey's End is the worst exhibition of bad taste that this century has seen, and it is tasteless in the way that murder is tasteless and matricide ill-bred.

Does anyone believe that such a sustained insult to our armies would have been tolerated by the nation even five years ago? In 1919, what theatre presenting *Journey's End* could have escaped the just fury of its audience? In those days the show would have been pelted, smashed, abolished. It survives to-day because we have mislaid our self-respect; because it provides a kick for sensationalists who have lost their palate. "I'd

like to see a tank come down the stalls," wrote Mr. Siegfried Sassoon. But that was years ago.

Twelve countries, one is informed, are staging *Journey's End*. Have twelve nations lost their wits? Or are twelve nations enjoying the spectacle of a demoralized Britain? Twelve countries, anyway; but one that has lately re-established manhood as a popular ideal, rejects it. Mussolini's Italy has banned *Journey's End*. Mussolini is the only authority who has discerned its implications: That there is no such thing as heroism. That brave deeds are performed by accident, by force of circumstances stronger than the hero, by a spirit of alcoholic despair refreshed at intervals by lewdness.

No one in these days desires to see war glorified; it has no glory. No one desires to hear that the sacrifice of manhood to war is necessary or, from any point of view, desirable. No one asks for a re-hash of the nauseating war-time pictures of a fatuously hilarious soldiery that was supposed to giggle all the way to death. Perhaps no one asks for truth either. But *Journey's End* is not only untrue; it is not even a pathological fantasy designed to show that, as war increases in terror, so it increasingly degrades.

It is, and it is received as, an entertainment of unparalleled cynicism. Its success as a maker of profits at the expense of memories, that hitherto our nation has held sacred, is a circumstance of shame that would astound a pessimist.

How many fathers, mothers, wives and even sweethearts still cherish their love for someone who went out to that hell of war and did not return? Surely a great multitude. How many believed—until the appearance of *Journey's End*—in the sheer courage and nobility of spirit of the man or boy who had made the sunshine warm for them? And how many who have seen it can keep their ideal?

There are two outstanding characters in the play. One is a coward whose fear has dominated his whole existence, the other a hero whose heroism is mere drunken despair.

A soldier, an army in the abstract, is not necessarily a sacred thing. If the war had been an affair between Atlantis and Lemuria, between Ruritania and Chocolate-

Soldier-Land, I should not complain—and, incidentally, crowds would not flock to see this play. *Journey's End* is, however, supposed to be a starkly true and realistic picture of our own men who won the greatest war of all time. If it were true and realistic, what sort of creatures must our enemies have been?

We complain of the iconoclastic tendencies of this post-war generation. We fill our newspapers with irritable articles about the lack of ideals and reverence in the young, their looseness of conduct, their sexual opportunism. And then, to show them the truth about heroism, we present *Journey's End!* We show them what appears to be proof that every moral splendour is a sham. If these young people laugh when they see the play, upon my soul, it is not the comic batman who amuses them but their pompous elders who have let themselves be found out!

The harm that *Journey's End* is doing is only limited by the notorious reluctance of our people to think very much or very clearly. Perhaps some will still believe in a vague way that drink and lewdness were not the secret of our victory, but that pride and patriotism sent men to a death they believed would not be in vain.

There was a time when national honour and personal honour were hotly defended, and a man who did not hold his own honour sacred, and his country's honour as his own, was thought unworthy of citizenship in any human society. Surely the honour of the million dead, who died in the war for the rest of us, is still a thing beyond profits. What pitch of emasculation have we reached that it should be possible for *Journey's End* to be not only tolerated but acclaimed?

If we are not to become a race of gigolos, it is time to produce an antidote to this necrosis of the soul. Where can one be found? Not, I think, by the establishment of a new kind of censorship, even an intelligent one, for censors have never improved morality. We must find some way of changing the attitude of mind that the triumph of this play has demonstrated.

* * *

Should the spirit be sick, a remedy is often found in treating the body. When that is disciplined, the mind

will be found once more receptive to intelligent suggestion and capable of serious reflection. I do not appeal for any religious revival, for experience shows that revivals are principally stamping grounds for neurotics or patent frauds that separate the foolish first from their money and in the end from their beliefs. And there is no spiritual authority in Britain to-day, of any creed, that is capable of appealing with success for the most trivial achievement.

Italy is the most obvious model, but Italy cannot be imitated by Britain. The foundation of Fascismo was a terrified reaction from anarchy and licence. We are mercifully leagues away from the Italy that Mussolini subdued and converted. Perhaps there are amongst us a hundred potentially wise and just dictators, with all Mussolini's genius for courageous leadership, but Britain, with all her faults, is never likely to give one of them his terrible opportunity.

Compulsion to health will fail. Any organization for adult education, training and discipline that has the State behind it to enforce its decree would be doomed to failure before it was enacted. We welcomed conscription during the war; after it, conscription was inevitably dropped as hurriedly as it had been adopted. No doubt the effect of military training, as that is carried out in the British Army, would be of incalculable benefit to every young conscript, but it is outside the range of practical politics.

Rather we must look to Swiss methods, so far as they are not militaristic, and any organization we attempt must not be branded with the label of Government.

You think it impossible to induce young men voluntarily to give up some of their leisure to gymnastic exercises and a little instruction in the past glories of their country? A beginning has already been made in two directions. We have the British Legion, which includes in its membership our best manhood of the war-time generation, and we have the Scouts doing magnificent work with the boys and youths who would otherwise spend most of their leisure in loafing and even less desirable pursuits.

In Switzerland many Cantons require every youth to attend night schools that are largely gymnasia for sixty hours in the winter during the ages of 18 to 20. These schools are semi-military and the pupils are, in fact, under military discipline, but we need not copy that aspect of them. The Confederation supplies teachers, and here again we should choose volunteers. The Confederation provides money. We should have to provide it by popular subscription.

What happens to the Boy Scout when he has plainly outgrown the age for scouting? A minute proportion become scout-masters. The rest? There is nothing to prevent them from relapsing into the mental barbarism from which they were rescued. But at the moment they leave, it should be easy to enrol them into the National Gymnasia I have suggested. Every member of the British Legion would be glad to use his influence with his sons to join, and their friends would go with them—provided that politics were excluded, that the gymnasia were obviously non-military and that working hours were not interfered with.

There are, or should be, no politics in patriotism when patriotism does not mean aggression; and that these gymnasia should not be the preserve of any religious denomination goes without saying. Nobody would be excluded from them but those communists whose prejudices and ignorance have so far suppressed their sense of humour as to see in every effort to establish a boy's self-respect, another attempt to "assassinate the workers!"

Centres should be established in every district where a man could be found of good repute who would be willing to supervise and collect helpers. Let him be a duke or a dustman, so long as he is a patriot; let him be a Roman Catholic, an Agnostic or a Jew.

Funds? That is the smallest obstacle. We were told before the war that war was impossible because there was not enough money in the world to finance it. If money could be found for death and destruction, we need not fear that it will not be forthcoming for a work of life and creation.

We are the most philanthropic of peoples. Unfortunately a great deal of philanthropic effort goes

astray. Let some millionaire whose previous hobby has been the purchase of foreign pictures for the National Gallery listen to this. Money will be found; what we need is the man. Who will come forward and start the ball rolling?

One word more to those lazy dissentients who are certain to cry "Impossible"! We have had enough of the spirit of depreciation that fills our newspapers with articles decrying this and that feature of our national life. Let us remember that we are the centre of the greatest empire that the world has ever seen. Let us train our youths to be proud of their birthright. Let them hear what Britain has done, let them see what Britain can be. If the modern Roman has been persuaded that he is the physical and spiritual descendant of the heroes of Imperial Rome, can it be too difficult to teach a Briton what his forefathers have done, and what he still can do?

There is no need to lose our sense of humour, no need to lose the power to laugh at ourselves. But never again must it be conceivable that an "entertainment" based upon a libellous presentment of our glorious dead can fill the pockets of unscrupulous cynics and proclaim to a jeering world that Britons can forget the men who saved them.

The Bride who arrived Too Late

By J. Maconechy

"BUT even if I am too late for the ordinary lunch there must be, I feel sure, some cold beef and colder prunes, I could have?" Elizabeth Merrow smiled as she made this remark to the solitary waiter in attendance in the dining-room of the small country-side inn. For indeed, she reflected, any other motorist in England would have been quite as astonished as she herself would have been had the answer to this question been in the negative. The waiter disappeared to retrieve the usual lunch of country inns from the kitchen. Elizabeth Merrow was left alone to stare round the empty dining-room of The King's Retreat at Lesser Winstone on the borderline between Essex and Hertfordshire.

She soon felt tired of looking at empty tables covered with table cloths and ornamented by cruet stands. The walls were hung with sporting prints. Elizabeth stared angrily at these through her silver lorgnettes: to her thinking all sport was mere butchery. There was a brightly burning log fire in the grate. Elizabeth shivered with sheer horror as she noticed for the first time, for she was rather short-sighted, that a large tabby-cat was sitting motionless on the sheep-skin hearth rug gazing with unblinking green eyes straight into the heart of the fire. Elizabeth hated cats for a somewhat personal reason. She had, in fact, a nervous horror of ending her days as a spinster in a small flat with a cat as her sole companion. And indeed she thought rather sadly as she gazed at the motionless green-eyed Pussy, she was well on her way to that melancholy ending. For her last birthday, called by herself in public her twenty-seventh, had been her thirtieth, and her suburban practice as a lady doctor at Lingford, in Essex, seemed from present prospects very little likely to lead her to the Mecca of Harley Street. True, as a member of the medical profession she had always

had, from her student days onwards, every opportunity of meeting eligible bachelors.

As she called this last fact to mind, she got up rather restlessly from her seat at the table by the window, and, in spite of the presence of the tabby cat, she stood on the hearth rug and stared nervously at her own reflection in the massive and old-fashioned gilt mirror hung above the mantel-piece. She was quite well aware, as she looked into the depths of the mirror, that the string of real pearls round her neck was no whiter than her dazzling white skin, that her eyes were as bright and as blue as the bright sparkling sea, and that her slender tall figure was a model of elegant grace. The black Persian lamb coat that she wore made a sharp contrast with its deep blackness to her bright auburn hair. If her coat had cost much, her cap had cost practically nothing—it was a plain woollen beret, home-made and hand-knitted. For Dr. Elizabeth Merrow, in spite of the fact that she earned a precarious living by following a man's profession, had one absolutely uncontrollable feminine weakness—she adored knitting.

Elizabeth pulled off her black knitted beret and pulled and coaxed her red hair into better curves with her fingers. She made a summary of her thoughts as she did so. She said to herself:

"I am tall, and of good appearance, like the ideal parlour-maid. I am about twenty-seven. I have passed quite a number of examinations—a matrimonial detriment. I can knit simply perfectly—a matrimonial advantage for sure. And I am unmarried. Now, why is that the case? There are really, I think, two reasons. The first is that in my job I really only meet doctors, and as regards real doctors, men doctors, they all know so much about everything concerning my sex, and are so sorry about all that, that they get quite too gentle for anything. And the second real reason is that I can only marry the man of my secret dreams, whom I have never yet seen."

Elizabeth sighed deeply. She put on her black cap. She left off staring at her own reflection in the mirror, and went and sat down again at her former table by the window. She went on with her thoughts:

The man of her dreams, he looked like this and like that. He looked like . . . .

Elizabeth started violently and roused herself from her deep reverie as the waiter came back into the dining-room.

The waiter began to carve the cold sirloin that he had put down on the side-board. Elizabeth stared through her lorgnettes out at the village green.

As she did so, she noticed suddenly that an old Tudor cottage stood on the further side of the green, detached from its neighbours, and with a garden back and front.

"What a charming cottage—the one opposite," she said to the waiter.

"That is to let, Madam," was the answer after a slight pause of hesitancy.

Elizabeth, who never hesitated about anything, adored grey-stone, twin-gabled cottages with casement stone-mullioned windows, and decided instantly to take this one for the week-ends.

"Who does it belong to?"—Elizabeth studied medicine but not grammar.

"To Captain Nicolas Breton," said the hesitant waiter rather hesitatingly. "At least, Madam, ——"

Brisk Elizabeth interrupted briskly—

"Then why doesn't he live there?"

"Because he is dead, Madam. At least ——"

"At least—what?" said the ungrammatical Elizabeth most impatiently.

"Some say that he is still there, Madam."

"What absolute rubbish!" said Elizabeth, who did not belong to the Society for Psychical Research. She got up briskly, paid her bill, tipped the nervous waiter, and walked quickly out of the Inn and into the premises of the nearest house-agent. She made enquiries about the cottage; she saw over it with the resident caretaker; she took it. She then drove herself back at a racing speed along the long lonely roads back to Lingford, reflecting as she kept a sharp look-out for police traps, on the credulity of nervous waiters, the histrionic powers of house-agents and on her own profound sagacity in securing a week-end country cottage beautifully furnished and in perfect order at a bargain price.

A fortnight later she again drove down to Lesser Winstone, prepared this time to stay at her new cottage for the week-end. Owing to an urgent call to a difficult case at the moment of her intended departure, she was unable to leave Lingford until late in the afternoon. It was already past six o'clock when she drew up in her Hillman two-seater on the edge of the village green at the gates of her new abode. She had with her Matilda Lockett, her confidential maid, and Plush, her black-haired Aberdeen terrier.

"You see, Matilda," she said cheerfully, as she stood in the rather narrow hall, "this cottage is very small and easily managed. On this floor there are only the one sitting-room and the kitchen, on the next there are only three rooms—I will sleep in the front bedroom, you can have the back and Plush can sleep next to me in the dressing-room."

This rather obvious arrangement was, however, completely frustrated by the fact that no persuasion, no coaxing, no offers of chocolate biscuits could induce Plush to enter any room in the house save the kitchen. He whined, he shivered, he cowered, he crept away in abject terror from room after room. Finally he took refuge under the kitchen table.

Elizabeth, surprised at this unexpected desertion, ate her dinner in the sitting-room alone and in a rather depressed mood. Matilda Lockett, respectable and virtuous but seldom hilarious, made no attempt at all at making light of this doggy contretemps:—

"They do say ——" she said slowly and gloomily as she brought in mutton cutlets.

"They say—what?" said her ungrammatical employer briskly.

"As dogs see what we don't."

"Rubbish!" said Elizabeth irritably. And she added firmly when Matilda came back again into the sitting-room bringing with her a jam omelet—"Matilda, I prefer Plush to sleep in the kitchen to-night."

"You will have to prefer it," said her confidential maid with some freedom of speech, "for Plush won't move out of it."

Elizabeth shrugged her shoulders in affected in-

difference, lit a cigarette, sank into an armchair by the fire-side and tried to think, as she tried to read the evening paper, that she did not mind sitting alone in the empty sitting-room.

Almost at once, however, her thoughts wandered far away from the *Evening News*. She looked round and about her.

Although she was not in the habit of talking to herself, she said to her own surprise, out loud—" Perhaps, after all, this room is not really uglier than a man's study always is—the same chairs, the same writing desk, the same everything."

Suddenly Elizabeth felt as if these words were going to meet with an answer. That, of course, was an absurd sensation in view of the fact that she was sitting alone in an empty study. Matilda, she remembered, was sitting alone in an empty kitchen. It would be, no doubt, a kindness to Matilda to join her. Elizabeth performed this kind action with precipitate haste.

The kitchen was small, bright and cosy. Matilda was making herself a cup of cocoa. Elizabeth sat down on the kitchen table and watched the process.

" Captain Breton," said Matilda brightly, for she was now in the best of spirits, as she had just had a long and promising chat with a widowed baker who would clearly be calling every day to bring bread, " Captain Breton, Miss, from what I can hear, was one of them restless sort of gentlemen always wandering about looking for what they don't know what and never settling down sensible-like to be married, one that thought the world too small for himself and so don't take no trouble at all about not going to another, so that in the end, Miss, he was eaten up by a lion in Kenya whom he had meant, no doubt, to bring home as a hearth-rug."

" A butcher," said Elizabeth sarcastically.

" No, Miss," said Matilda rather absent-mindedly, for she was thinking about the baker, " A big-game hunter."

" The same thing."

This remark was not to Matilda's taste for the reason that the widowed baker had confided to her sympathising

ears the fact that he had just secured a gun-licence and was going out rabbiting on Sunday with a neighbouring farmer.

"Captain Breton was the sort of gentleman, Miss, what we call, meaning you and me, Miss, and so on, say we don't like but really do, Miss,—a gentleman just a little bit on the strong side, Miss."

The infuriated Elizabeth got up in as stately a way as she could from her seat on the kitchen table, kissed the traitor Plush on the tip of his shiny black nose, said repressively "Good-night, Matilda," and went slowly and meditatively up the small winding dark oak staircase to her bedroom.

The front bedroom was spick and span with newness. Indeed in all respects it bore witness to the truthfulness of the caretaker who had informed Elizabeth on her first visit of inspection that the bedroom had never been used by the late owner. Captain Breton had, she said, preferred to sleep in the small adjoining dressing-room.

Elizabeth opened the communicating door and peeped rather nervously into the dressing-room. She shuddered. It was indeed as bare, as ugly, as purely utilitarian as any man's dressing-room can be.

"And that," said Elizabeth, again to her own surprise speaking out loud, "is indeed saying a great deal."

She went back to the bedroom, carefully locking the communicating door from the bedroom side as she closed it. As she brushed out her tangled red hair in front of the plain silver mirror which stood on the marqueterie dressing-table, she began to think again, just as she had, she remembered, been thinking at lunch at "The King's Retreat" a fortnight ago, about marriage. Why had she never married?

"It is not," she said in a whisper, possibly speaking to her own reflection in the glass, "because no one has asked me, because really and truly one or two and especially one has—I mean perhaps have. But then I have always been waiting——"

Elizabeth got into bed. She did not turn out the light at once, because it was her invariable habit to

knit for an hour or so before she went to sleep. This practice she followed on this night. But though she did purl and plain at an amazing speed, she could not keep her thoughts fixed on her work. She thought about marriage——

The man of her secret dreams he looked like this and he looked like that. He looked like——

Suddenly Elizabeth fancied that she heard the faint echo of a man's footsteps in the empty dressing-room. Her heart went pit-a-pat with fear until she remembered with relief that she had carefully locked the dressing-room door from the bedroom side. In any case the faint sound audible was in all probability merely the echo of Matilda's heavy tread from the back bedroom.

Consoled by these sensible reflections, Elizabeth went on with her ribbing. As the minutes passed, the echoes in the dressing-room died down into silence. Elizabeth laid down her knitting as the sudden conviction came surging over her mind with irresistible force that someone was standing waiting behind the dressing-room door. To her own utter amazement all her nervous terrors left her. To her own surprise she realised suddenly that there are more things in Heaven and earth than were dreamt of in her philosophy. To her own horror unmarried Elizabeth heard herself saying "Come in." And almost before these words had been spoken, she was staring up in passionate, desolate, virginal despair at the man of her dreams who looked like this and like that, who looked like Captain Nicolas Breton, late of this world.

Things Seen

By Robert Bell

FROM right to left man's inclinations swing,
And other days do other pleasures bring;
And I, drawn hither and thither, am perplexed
To know whence beauty will assail me next.

Now it's the dawn in summer; now the wood
In twilight stillness and beatitude;
And now the bright corrosive touch of gold,
Which is the Judas price for summer sold;

The jutting corner of a house; the tones
Of shining water upon shining stones;
The light in poor men's windows; or the grass
Waving a greeting to the winds that pass;

The winding road that leads to anywhere;
The rose of white that winter hedges bear;
Or the grave ceremonial crows that fly,
Great blots of ink, across December's sky;

The silhouetted plough; the naked tree;
The little flower that no one knows but me;
The road that glistens in the sun; the wave
Poised for a single instant o'er its grave;

The slender moon, with flashing sword, at bay
Against the clouds in martial array;
And why should my self-conscious heart stand still
To see the menacing outline of a hill?

How shall I learn, and in what unknown school,
Which of these things is the most beautiful?

The Carillon

By Richard Church

At the ringing of the first bell,
Solitude, asleep in the Square,
Woke, cringing from the crowded air;
Saw the grinning echoes swell
And multiply, gesticulate and shout,
Till all the votaries of silence shrank
Into a stony semblance of rest;
Furry belly, feathered breast,
Into the warm dust pressed
For a moment of cacophonous terror,
Ere they scuttled and fluttered out,
Leaving their place to the clapper and throat,
The tumultuous dancing and riot
Advancing with bombast and threat
And as suddenly beating retreat.

Then to the violated Square
Solitude returned; gazed in the mirror
Of the fountain, dressed her dishevelled hair
With trembling hands, and stooped, and drank.

"Says Sergeant Murphy"

By A. P. Garland

Mr. Snowden's "No"

"The papers have been making a lot of fuss about Mr. Snowden," remarked Heddle provocatively.

"Jolly nearly time, too, for somebody to have the guts to stand up to them blinking foreigners," he continued. "What beats me is, you'd never think it would be a blooming Socialist that would be the first to do it."

"Why not?" asked Sergeant Murphy. "Aren't the Socialists the wans that are agen thradition, and what's been the thradition in this counthry for the last ten years? Simply "Afther you, Alphonse or Hans or some other divil." We may have been gettin' the stuffin' knocked out of us in thrade and in sport, Heddle, but where it comes to thrue politeness and givin' way to the other fellah, on every occasion we're teachin' the world. Other counthries now and then, whin their intherests are deeply concerned, are ready to thrail a coat and ask anybody to dare thread on it. We look on that as damned bad form. All we want is to find out the other fellah's point of view and adopt it.

"Do you remember how we settled the war debts of most of our allies on the instalment plan?

"'Oh, Misther Everycounthry, I hate to mention it, but you appear to owe me wan hundhred millions.'

"'Alas, Misther Britain, the perfijus books appear to say so.'

"'And how were you thinkin' of payin' it back—if anny, Misther Everycounthry?'

"'Well, I thought of givin' you fifty thousand pounds down, and an annual payment of fifty thousand pounds to cover both capital and intherest.'

"'That sthrikes me as bein' perfectly wondherful of you, Misther Everycounthry—if you can spare it.'

"'Well, Misther Britain, I may at times find it inconvenient to meet the instalments——'

"'Don't let that disthress you, Misther Everycounthry.'

"'You can be sure it won't, Misther Britain.'

"That's the spirit, Heddle, that we've been doin' all our inthernational business in since the War, and the rest of the world wasn't long in seein' that Britannia

with her thrident was no longer our thrade mark; instead we showed a milch cow, with the motto, 'Help yerselves.'

"The Americans don't like our threaty with Japan, so we scrap it. Also, to give Prohibition officials a fair chance of machine-gunnin' bootleggers, we extend the three-mile limit to twelve, as far as British vessels are concerned. Nelson would have liked that.

"In Palestine we spend millions of pounds in creatin' a Kosher territory for a few thousands of Jews, most of them Poles and Russians.

"In China we listen to the squeals of some half-baked American Cantonese and surrendher concessions we've earned be a hundhred years of honest development.

"At the League of Nations Jamboree we're the big laugh. When there's anny general expense that can't be met be the funds in hand, it's always charged up to this counthry; but all the same, our fellah has no more influence over the Council than the envoy very exthra-ordinary from some footlin' South American republic.

"As far as German Reparations are concerned, all the European experts are agreed that be takin' a nought off the amount allotted to us and tackin' it on to that of another counthry anny dispute can be settled.

"In Egypt we spend half a cenchury in buildin' up a prosperous counthry, and then we hand it over to a bunch of converted Copts and Syrians that have as much right to rule the natives as I have to boss the Russian Ballet. But you don't find the French doin' the same in Algiers or the Italians in Thripoli.

"It's the same wherever you go. Concession is the betther part of valour, accordin' to the alleged statesmen we've been inflictin' on ourselves for the last ten years.

"So I'm not throwin' me hat in the air because Misther Snowden has stood his ground for wance—on a point of finance. I'm waitin' to see what Misther Hendherson brings back from Geneva, and what the whole Cabinet does about the Singapore dock."

"What's the matter with us, Sar'nt?" asked Heddle. "It looks as if we were letting the Empire go to pot."

"It does indeed," replied the Sergeant. "It says in the Bible that the meek shall inherit the earth. But divil a word about the meek keepin' a firm grip of it!"

The Consistency of Bernard Shaw

By Horace Shipp

The Apple Cart. By Bernard Shaw. (Queen's Theatre.)

WHATEVER attitude one takes to Bernard Shaw, two things have to be realized from the beginning. One is that he is a deadly serious person; the other that he is almost uncannily consistent. Strangely enough he has been acclaimed as the very opposite of these things; and it has become almost a legend that he is our privileged jester, paid large royalties to say diverting things when, how and where he will, so long as nobody needs to take him seriously nor expects statement A to have any relationship to statement B, Y or Z. That he is amusing there can be no doubt; but he assumes the immemorial right of jesters to barb his shafts with truth. He always jokes about serious matters, and jokes in such a way that his humour must be taken seriously. And as soon as we begin to take it seriously, we realize that from *Widowers' Houses* to *The Apple Cart*, Bernard Shaw's little joke has been against the same things, and has been a kind of barrage behind which he could concentrate his main forces of attack upon those institutions of society which are opposed to his philosophy.

There are two courses open in dealing with Bernard Shaw: one is that of acceptance of his doctrines of realism and anti-romanticism in sex, equality of income in economics, and the moulding of institutions by the superman in evolution; the other is that of disagreement, so profound, that the fires of Smithfield should be lighted beneath one glorious pyre of the man and all his works. Mr. Shaw is no joke, and during the forty years that his opponents have treated him as one he has become, without dispute, the greatest single mental force in the contemporary literature of the world.

In *The Apple Cart* he is at it again. At first glance it seems shapeless, full of irrelevancies, a divertisement. Then some of it begins to be reminiscent of other passages in the Shavian canon. Even in his divertisement within a divertisement—the interlude of romantic love in Orinthia's boudoir, whereto King Magnus retires for an hour from the problems of the right adjustment of the

man born to govern and the democracy—even there Shaw puts very much of what he said in *Getting Married*, in *Candida*, in *Man and Superman*, in everything he has written about sex romance and the institution of marriage, and about the relationship of these things to the work of the world. In the rest of the play he is at his old game of examining institutions and the place of the superman in making and being made by them.

The story, placed in the not too remote future, is that of the struggle of King Magnus of England to retain his power against the professional politicians who, in the name of democracy, constitute his cabinet. The old governing class has long since abdicated; business has attracted all the brains; the higher capitalism of Ford socialism has made the country prosperous in the creation of chocolate cream, polo ponies and such like; and King Magnus, who happens to be a statesman with some vision of the real shaping of events, argues through two acts with the Tom, Dick and Harry opportunists in office concerning the ultimatum they have presented, demanding his future silence upon political matters. There is a sidelight upon the dangers of the economic and sentimental Americanization of the world, when the American ambassador arrives at Court and, with a spate of rhetoric, announces that his nation has decided to reunite with the Old Country. King Magnus alone realizes that this Prodigal Son is returning really to take possession of the old home for which the title deeds are long since in his pocket.

To say that all this serious discussion of democracy, economics, government, bureaucracy, big business, political wire-pulling, nationalism, snobbery, jobbery, idealism and realism in the organization of society, is carried on along the very borderline of farce is only to say that Bernard Shaw is doing his usual job in his usual way. To say that his attitude is anti-romantic, anti-humbug, and comes down heavily on the side of the clear-sighted man who, in the interest of the community, knows exactly what he wants to do, is again to reiterate that Mr. Shaw is himself. It was the cry from the depths in *Heartbreak House* when the author almost dropped his pose of jester; it was the *leit motiv* of *St. Joan*,

that study of how terrible and potent new words—words like Protestantism and Nationalism which shattered the institutions of centuries—came into European thought because an inspired peasant girl accepted the challenge of leadership. From the rise of the curtain till its fall, Bernard Shaw simply belabours us with his beliefs. The opening is significant, although one of Mr. Shaw's loudest eulogists, after an opening fanfare concerning ("fatheads") and the selling of beetroot by the undiscerning, dismissed it as completely irrelevant.

Says Pemphillius: "What was your father?"

Sempronius replies: "A ritualist" and proceeds to give a marvellous caricature of our old friend Everyman living on dead institutions, creating and thriving upon the tinsel and trappings of royalty, and dying at a change which brought him up against reality. If this were merely *jeu d'esprit*, Mr. Shaw is a lesser dramatist than I imagine him, and (flattering thought) is waiting for the creative criticism of intelligences such as mine to give significance to large portions of his work. It seems simpler to believe that forty years of play writing has made him an economic craftsman.

The Apple Cart comes to us, then, full as ever of Mr. Shaw's refreshing fruit. It is no sweeter than of old, for Shaw, seeing thus far into the future, does not find men much nearer his own he-ancients. It is still largely negative and warning of the consequences of letting the world drift on its present line, for Shaw's satiric gift is not much at home in Utopia. The production and acting seemed to me rather adequate than inspired, and one suspected the author's own hand in the slow pace. Edith Evans makes a creation of Orinthia, but even she suffered from the general air of prose statement. Otherwise, there is no sense of creation; only of conscientious interpretation. That this does not get in the way of the author is commendable certainly; but how much the little more would be! Yet, however *The Apple Cart* were presented, its claim upon the intelligent playgoer would hold. We can hate, loathe and disagree with Mr. Shaw's ideas; we might even regard them as socially subversive and duly repress them; but they are ideas and the theatre is the wider for their presence.

Books

LONDON.

ROYAL COMMISSION ON HISTORICAL MONUMENTS (ENGLAND). An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London. Vol. IV.—The City. Stationery Office. £1 1s.

"THE untouched surface of ancient architecture bears witness to the development of man's ideas, to the continuity of history, and, so doing, affords never-ceasing instruction, nay education, to the passing generations, not only telling us what were the aspirations of men passed away, but also what we may hope for in time to come."

The quotation is from a paper read by William Morris before the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in 1884. It indicates the new spirit which was rising to check the reckless vandals of the full tide of Victorianism, and now is saving just in time architecture which may fairly claim to be unique. The learned Commissioners who sign this volume emphatically advise the retention of Wren's churches, and this excellent inventory of the older City monuments is chiefly a memorial of his varied genius, still exhibited in a host of churches, though many have been pulled down. The City authorities, we are glad to notice, mark such sites with a memorial tablet. From one lost church the bones of Coverdale, the translator of the Bible, were removed to the London Bridge St. Magnus, but though St. Bartholomew Exchange is mentioned in this book, we are not told where precisely it stood. The record is of existing architecture and furniture and it stops in general at 1714, a fact that might have been clearly stated on the title page to prevent disappointment. Several of the buildings regarded as typical of the City thus do not appear. The Guildhall, still substantially of the fifteenth century, is considered, but not the Mansion House. Characteristically the account speaks of the probable materials of a wall when its interior has not been opened to view anywhere, but the maps and plans show clearly how much in an altered church may be regarded as ancient. The book might be read with Stowe's "Survey" and follows his plan of taking the City by Wards.

We have learnt to expect a wealth of illustration from the Commissioners, and this present volume is a particularly desirable possession, because it begins with a collection of photographs showing the City's chief treasures in particular lines, such as towers and spires, fonts and painted glass.

Secular buildings make little show in comparison with the churches, though a number of good staircases are figured in this

section. A feature that may escape attention is a crypt, nearly always an example of early architecture.

Monuments of Elizabethan and Jacobean date are rare, but most people will know the glorious Middle Temple Hall, built 1562–70, in which a play of Shakespeare was acted during his lifetime. Those who are familiar with the Hall of Trinity College, Cambridge, will recognise a strong resemblance, and, in fact, it was copied from the London model, both in dimensions and ornament. The scarcity of old City taverns is remarkable, for one would imagine that the repute of an old house was worth retaining. In some cases, however, the site remains and the name has been changed. No stone of the famous Mermaid exists to inspire a new poet. The devastation of the Great Fire of 1666 was widespread and not altogether to be regretted, since it did away with small parish churches "in no wise remarkable architecturally." The best early examples left are Conventual in origin. One striking adornment of old London, the shop sign, must now be sought chiefly in museums.

For Roman remains the reader is referred to a previous volume, and when the final one, including the Tower, is issued, London will have a first-rate memorial of singular completeness. The Commission is greatly to be congratulated on its thorough work, which should be studied by every real lover of London. Every London library ought to have it, for it is history in stone, and, though Mr. Ford denounces history as "bunk," there will be children to "ask of their fathers in time to come, saying, What mean these stones?" At least we hope so: we refuse to see with the vision of the Philistines a race of Robots with no sense of beauty.

V. R.

LONDON REDISCOVERIES AND SOME OTHERS. By WALTER G. BELL. With 19 illustrations. Lane. 7s. 6d.

Mr. Bell is one of the most accomplished among the present-day antiquaries of London, and his books on the subject are sure of a welcome. This is, we think, actually the seventh, but it is full of striking material which will be new to many readers, and it corrects some obstinate legends which flourish in spite of facts. We learn much of the disinterment of famous bones, a process that, however interesting, strikes us as a little ghoulish, when we come to think about it. There is Shakespeare's curse for tomb-openers to remember. We are happier in the author's discovery of Pepys as a Londoner than in a view of the skeleton of Bentham, dressed in his habit as he lived, with a wax head and the real one below, at University College, London. He was hardly, we think, one of the four founders of the College. Its latest historian does

not give him so much credit. But the place was Benthamite in its inspiration, and we gather that his ghost has been heard walking with a dragging foot, as he did in life.

Mr. Bell is fond of the Tower, and has turned an excellent reception there to good use. He tells of a warder who created striking phenomena for the sake of tips. A notice of the " Roman London " of the Stationery Office is well done, and another of the historic letters on view in the Record Office will surprise indifferent Londoners. The book goes as far as Cornwall, celebrating the monument of John Knill, a landmark in the region of St. Ives Bay. Knill was certainly vain, but his vanity took a form of some use for the enjoyment of posterity. He might, like a market-gardener of the last century we know of, have left money for endless sermons about himself. Part of the book is frankly personal journalism, but the author and his dogs make a pleasant interior, though he is wrong about feeding them, if we may be allowed to say so. The little disagreement with a reviewer was not important enough to be perpetuated in a book. These rubs come to most of us and are best forgotten.

BIOGRAPHY:

La Vie de John Keats. Par Albert Erlande. Gallimard. 12fr.
The Life of John Keats. By Albert Erlande. With a Preface by J. Middleton Murry. Translated by Marion Robinson. Cape. 7s. 6d.

M. Erlande, a poet himself, is a keen admirer of Keats, and able to use the research made by Amy Lowell and others since Colvin wrote. His book has also the advantages of moderate length and the freshness of a foreign point of view. This is not, however, all gain, since there is a vagueness in some of his ecstatic appreciation which does not suit the English mind. Mr. Murry, in his Preface, writes chiefly of the problem of pain, which must always face us poignantly when a genius dies young. M. Erlande manages his biographical detail well, using a brightness and brevity not attainable in English. His views of the poet's circle are judicious, but we are less interested in them than in the wonderful mind revealed in what he rightly calls the " quite indispensable " letters. They include passages worthy of Plato, which Swinburne, in his long life, could never have penned, and a vision of Shakespeare's mind which any critic might have been glad to produce. It is much more to the point than the phrase " The finest thing about him is his Voices," quoted here for its insight " into the soul and secret of Shakespeare." This means to us as little as the rapture on Keats's " Odes " which follows. Everywhere, however,

M. Erlande makes excellent use of the letters, and his paraphrases have, in the English version, been wisely replaced by actual quotations. It should be realized that the attacks on Keats's poetry were largely a tribute to the politics of his friends. They, on their side, were no silent martyrs and equally capable of virulence in print.

The translator has done well in not keeping the "historic present" tense natural in French, and gets the general sense well enough, but she misses some of the vividness of the original and omits some little touches for no apparent reason. Perhaps the author has revised some of his text since the French editions. We are glad to see a foolish charge against Scott now considerably modified. The Introduction has been curtailed and the dedication is gone, though it is concerned with the genesis of the book. Keats wrote in his letter to Brown (p. 257) "in nubibus," not "nubibus," and the French has it right, "dans les *nuages*." The disappearance of speculations on the use of mercury and Amy Lowell's counterblast is no great loss, but why should the identification of the line quoted on the title page of "Endymion" be omitted?

SHAKESPEARE'S HAUNTS NEAR STRATFORD. By EDGAR I. FRIPP. Oxford University Press. 5s.

MR. FRIPP is well known as an ardent and accomplished Shakespearian, and his latest book, which deals with Shakespeare's family connections and neighbours in Warwickshire, is pleasantly illustrated with quotations from the plays. He enables us to see in detail what life at Stratford was like. The various properties in which Shakespeare was interested have been amply discussed. More novel to the reader will be his uncle Henry, a determined litigant. Throughout, Mr. Fripp takes things for granted which may be disputed. We do not object, as a rule, but we think he gives Shakespeare more commonplace goodness than the plays show. We cannot, for instance, admit that in "As You Like It," "Adam's words are dear to the Poet, those of Jaques, however ornate, are offensive."

AGRICULTURE.

THE LAND: AGRICULTURE AND NATIONAL ECONOMY. By CHRISTOPHER TURNOR. With a Foreword by LORD BLEDISLOE. Lane. 1s.

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pamphlet an excellent summary of the problems of today and the remedies long overdue. We have, in fact, the views of two experts, as Lord Bledisloe summarises the chief points in his "Foreword."

A special feature of the survey is the comparison with foreign countries. Once we led the agricultural world: now our farmers have dropped back and often do not appreciate their chances. Mr. Turnor is firm in his suggestion that the actual ownership of land is essential. Like President Masaryk, one of the wisest of Continental rulers, he regards State ownership and excessive State control as a ruinous policy. "From an Imperial standpoint the

case for a large and early extension of small proprietary holdings is urgent and unanswerable," writes Lord Bledisloe. Young people lack the training and environment which would fit them for a career in the Dominions. Do we wish to see these great stretches of land crowded with an alien population which cares nothing for England? Mr. Turnor declares that the landlord and tenant system has failed. At present we have a smaller percentage of manual workers than any other country and have forgotten Quintilian's advice that boys who are no good at schooling should go to the land.

Dual occupation—agricultural work when the demand for a man's normal work is slack—is obviously desirable. The dockers of Antwerp are also employed on their holdings and do not hang round the docks on the chance of being taken on. Continental methods beat ours at present, and the author shows why. Organization with our farmers has been slow and not altogether happy. The labourers' unions are under the domination of urban unionism. Mr. Turnor says that the plans of urban authorities are not adequate, however well they look on paper. "Never was such a sudden scholar made" is the natural comment on some of them.

The whole question of agriculture ought not to be political at all and vexed, as it is, by rival nostrums. The farmers must help themselves and should, it is suggested, be individualists as producers, but co-operators for the purpose of distribution. The middleman is an expensive nuisance in this country and it is idle to say that he cannot be dislodged. The Ayrshire farmers got rid of him and organized the wholesale distribution of milk for Glasgow, with the result of better prices for themselves and lower charges to the consumer. Other farmers, properly organized, can do the same and secure the influence in national affairs to which they are entitled.

ON THE TRAMP IN WALES: THE RECORD OF A SPRINGTIME PILGRIMAGE IN AGRICULTURAL KNOWLEDGE AND SEASONABLE RECREATION. By S. L. BENSUSAN. With Photographs by MARIAN BENSUSAN and others. Noel Douglas. 8s.

MR. BENSUSAN writes well with an easy humour, but he has rather the air of discovering Wales. If, however, he can induce more people to see an attractive country and a kindly people, that is all to the good. He points out that the cost of caravanning compares very favourably with that of a hotel, and it is life in the open. One must, however, include in the party a knowing mechanic and an apt and ready cook.

The book is pleasant, but it rather falls between two stools. We are ready to appreciate what an expert says about agricultural

conditions; but this special purpose leads to the neglect of chances the ordinary traveller wants to take. Thus Mr. Bensusan is simply malicious about Llandrindod Wells because the prices there are high, and he did not see any of the beautiful river scenery within easy reach. He discovered the Madryn Castle Farm School, but never saw the fine view from the top of Carn Fadryn close by. Is the School hard to find, if one can read a map? Wales is showing great enterprise in these agricultural institutions and the chapter "Of Miracles in the Making" shows what important work is being done. There is, however, as yet no development of co-operative marketing, and the "higgler" visits the farm and chooses his own prices. In general, rural Wales is probably keener to learn than rural England, and the Social Institutes, which have sprung up everywhere and ignore the divisions between church and chapel, add materially to the recreation and instruction of a hard-working people. They will get much better results when they realize what the scientific expert can do for them.

MODERN PROBLEMS.

THE ART OF THINKING. By ERNEST DIMNET. Cape.

THIS book, as the author makes clear in his preface, is an attempt to deal simply with a difficult subject. He writes, in fact, for the average man or woman, and disclaims any en-

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deavour to be either brilliant or profound. His aim, he tells us, has been to explain lucidly, and at the same time, sympathetically, the main rules on which clear and useful thinking depend. Even with such limitations, his task can scarcely be considered an easy one; but we think that, on the whole, his undertaking is justified by the result.

He writes clearly, dividing his matter into short chapters, and illustrating his points either by an amusing anecdote, or the penetrating confession of some great man. Above all, he is never dull, and we shall not forget his excellent French shopkeeper with his hatred of " 'tits détails, 'tits détails," or the charming vignette of the rapt, little, black-clad maiden, reading her squat volume in the railway carriage, and explaining, when questioned, " Monsieur, c'est l'Histoire Romaine—et je vais arriver à Jules César." Often as she had read the book, her mind was still a-tiptoe for the arrival of her hero !

He quotes Montaigne's complaint of a formal way of reading, " My thoughts go to sleep when they are seated, so they and I walk "; and something of the philosophy underlying the remark seems to have crept into this book. At any rate, we think M. Dimnet's readers are more likely to connect him with country rambles and a friendly talk than with professional lectures and the formalities of cap and gown. His easiness of style, in fact, should at once put him on terms with them. They need not be afraid of him as a " highbrow "; he is, on the contrary, pleasantly human.

In Part I he defines " Thought," and pleads the possibility of an " Art of Thinking." He then touches on the various obstacles to its cultivation, stressing, amongst others, those which are the outcome of our modern systems of education. If he is unable to avoid an allusion to those " Inferiority Complexes " we hear so much of nowadays, he does not ride them to death : and it is refreshing to find him telling us that we all (including himself) often talk nonsense when we should do better to hold our tongues ! On " Mental Parasites " he also has some wise things to say, and there is a suggestive chapter on " Thought Weakened by Life."

In Part III he deals with " Helps to Thought," and points out that there is a moral side to sane and fruitful thinking, and that brain divorced from heart yields but a sterile product. As Joubert, whom he quotes, said, " there is no light in souls in which there is no warmth "; and we are reminded that, just as we can choose friends of baser, or nobler, metal, so we may " turn out soul-visitors we are not proud of." He also tells us never to read a book for its style, which is sound advice.

In Part IV, on " Creative Thought," M. Dimnet reaches the

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most difficult part of his subject. What he has to say on it is at least worthy of attention, even if it does not attain the level of his earlier pages and lacks much of their vividness and movement. But to complain of this would be hypercritical. He is here labouring in a field from which success is, almost necessarily, banished.

The grammar is occasionally careless, but this is a trifle in a thoughtful and interesting book.

MOTION PICTURE PROBLEMS: THE CINEMA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. By WILLIAM MARSTON SEABURY. Avondale Press, New York.

THIS book, the price of which is not given in the copy sent to us, suggests the formation of a Cinema Committee of the League of Nations which would deal with the problems submitted to it and supervise an international agreement. We are not very sanguine about the League as an authority on art and morals, but there is certainly a case for government interference with undesirable pictures and the possible support of others, since " the cinema industries of the world, outside of

America, are now so critically distressed that they are incapable even of self-preservation, under existing economic conditions, without the active and vigorous aid of their several governments." Nations differ in their ways of control and their opinions of decency—we have heard that in Japan all kisses are cut out—and Mr. Seabury's book is valuable and very thorough in its exhibition of detail. He tells us that Great Britain adopted the German quota system just as Germany abandoned it for more effective methods. In France last year all imported pictures were made subject to the rules and regulations of the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts. The cruder examples of the *crime passionnel* have now disappeared, but our own censorship might well increase its vigilance. In one week we saw two pictures in which women were lured to stand over a hole with a strong wind blown upwards, with results that can be imagined. The accompanying men in the play leered with delight, and one of them described the performance as very "uplifting." Mr. O'Connor and his British Board of Film Censors appointed by the trade might note that this was a clear infringement of one of the regulations laid down on p. 392. Mr. Seabury shows in one chapter the ineffectiveness of censorship as now administered.

The quality of the films made is shown by the statistics of a recent examination by the New York Board. In one year there were 3,780 eliminations; 624 were condemned as indecent, 924 as inhuman, 1,318 as tending to incite to crime, and 816 as immoral. France has a much severer censorship than this country; but it only takes 3 per cent. of the American films, and Germany 10 per cent., whereas England takes 40 per cent. The English industry has a real chance to improve on this dubious importation. A college in which the young men spend a large part of their time petting young women and otherwise live entirely for distinction in football is not in accord with English ideas; but it is the only college life that the public sees.

France led the way by promoting an International Motion Picture Congress at Paris in 1926, and the Resolutions of the eight Commissions here given make interesting reading. Particularly important is the question of author's rights, on which our own law has given some strange decisions.

GENERAL.

TREASON AND TRAGEDY. By GEORGE ADAM. Cape. 10s. 6d.

MR. ADAM is, as our readers know, both acute and witty, an accomplished critic of French and international problems. So, though his book is sensational in subject, it has an authority

which does not belong to several narratives of treason and spying. However our civilization advances with abundant talk of the brotherhood of man and the end of wars, the traitor still finds it worth while to give away his country for money, and the spy in search of valuable secrets is not confined to war-time. And somewhere in the complicated skein a woman is involved who brings out the irony of Mr. Adam's pen.

The poison of power appears to reduce the morality of politicians and their less worthy operations had wide reactions on the Allied war-front. With us the law of treason, which seemed in ordinary life a fossil of long-forgotten days, suddenly revived. Secret workers for Germany, as is shown, led to many tragedies, such as the death of Edith Cavell, and we do not know that men like Bolo Pasha, playing for millions, were more respectable. M. Caillaux's case was different, and he could claim to be sincere in his serious, if misguided, views on national arrangements. In the war France, for some time, made the mistake of ignoring defeatist agitation, and only M. Clemenceau's ruthless patriotism saved the situation. The mutineers on the French front in 1917 were the direct result of propaganda paid for by Germany, which this time got some solid results. Otherwise the ease with which large sums were extracted seems astonishing. It is explained that after the Battle of the Marne Germany saw that a quick victory was impossible, and turned with new zeal to secret propaganda. The sneering stuff produced by Duval in the *Bonnet Rouge* was remarkably clever; yet the paper was supported by M. Malvy, the Minister of the Interior, who after five years of banishment, is now again a force in French politics. His exposure was due to the violence of M. Léon Daudet, who, with all his exaggerations, did a public service. The whole story shows the corrupt and accommodating ways of the Third Republic. It has survived, because it represents " the Frenchness of the people who make France," but one wonders how men proved dangerous to its very existence can return to power. The answer appears to be that politicians are particularly tender in dealing with people of their own sort. The *Bonnet Rouge* favoured in war-time was previously, we learn, subsidized by M. Caillaux for services rendered during the trial of his wife. His ambitions and activities occupy several pages, and many will remember the murder of Calmette, the trial and the astonishing acquittal. As a political event, it claimed notice which should have been directed to the coming war, just as Irish troubles monopolized the attention of our purblind Liberals. Here, as elsewhere, the author writes as a witness on the spot, and his descriptions of the figures in his dramas of politics and treason add much to his book. The protagonists were, in fact,

curiously varied in their demeanour and temperament. The printers have not decided whether M. Clemenceau should have an accent or not. Long since we learnt that the name should be as we give it.

EASTWARDS: BEING THE SUPERFICIAL OBSERVATIONS OF AN OCCASIONAL TRAVELLER. By F. A. HOOK. With 11 illustrations by T. Raffles Davidson. Blue Peter Publishing Company. 5s.

THIS unpretentious narrative of a tour through India and Ceylon should be useful to travellers undertaking such a trip. Mr. Hook's notes are marked by good sense and he combines with attention to the practical needs of the travelling Briton, such as small change, appreciation of the dignity of India and its monuments. The reproductions of drawings bring out well the details of some typical Indian architecture. The tourists had good luck in the way of sight-seeing, getting an hour's view of Kinchinjanga, and the kindly comments show that they deserved it. Pretentious conclusions on India's problems to-day are fortunately absent.

THE LIVES OF SIR JOSEPH MCBRIDE. Illustrated by WILLIAM WALCOT, MARIE VASSILIEFF and GILES DUGDALE. Edited by GILES DUGDALE. Heffer: Cambridge. 5s.

THIS is a wild fantasy of 'Varsity life in which an undergraduate, about to disappear as a failure from the college of Nativity, succeeds in taking on the personality first of a tutor, and then of the Master, of the college. The impostor, stealing also the erudition of the late Master, wins a reputation and brings the college to a foremost place in the university. Incidentally, there is some neat satire directed against the quaint habits of dons, American scholarship, and snobbery; but the story and the types portrayed belong to an earlier period, that of the '60s, when oddities were more in evidence than they are today. The pictures of Sir Joseph are amusing.

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